

IN THESE TIMES

THEIR
HITLER
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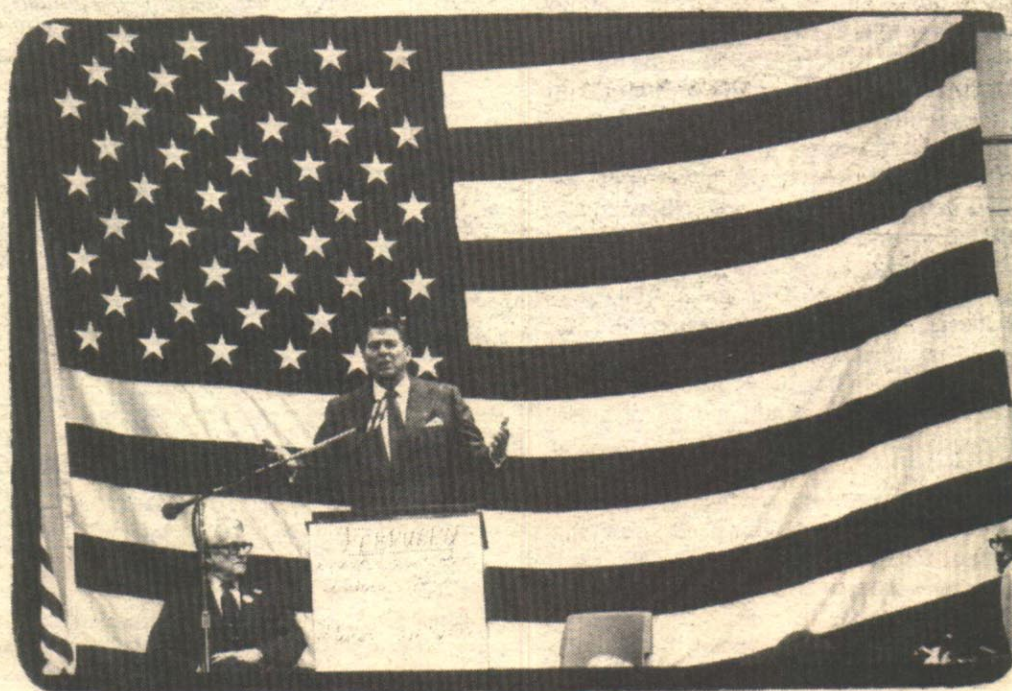


SOUTH AFRICA EXPLODES



STRIKES & SABOTAGE COMMEMORATE SOWETO.

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Right is
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Lionel Delevingne

THE INSIDE STORY



Gov. Reagan joins the establishment

By John Judis

Having lost the Iowa caucuses to George Bush, former Gov. Ronald Reagan came out swinging in New Hampshire last February. Reagan commercials and the editorials of the Reaganite *New Hampshire Union-Leader* hammered away at Bush's ties to the infamous "Eastern establishment." And Reagan set himself off politically from his opponent's establishment stands.

Bush had refused to recommend that Jimmy Carter escalate the American conflict with Iran or with the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. Reagan called for a deadline on the release of the hostages and for a blockade of Cuba.

On domestic policy, Reagan chided Bush for refusing to endorse the Kemp-Roth 30 percent across-the-board tax cut. Reagan claimed that the tax cut would benefit rich and poor alike by stimulating investment and new jobs. "If we cut taxes deeply and permanently," his campaign commercials said, "we'll be removing many of the barriers that hold everyone back. Those who have the least will gain the most."

Reagan claimed that by encouraging investment, Kemp-Roth would more than make up for the revenues it initially lost. It was the answer to the oft-repeated question of how a Republican could balance the budget, cut taxes, and increase military spending without taking an ax to social expenditures. And, as Representative Jack Kemp pointed out, it was the answer to the conservative's dream of a pro-business, anti-government coalition that could include labor and minorities.

Three months later, with the Republican nomination wrapped up, Reagan began to back away from his New Hampshire stands. In a May 6 *Wall Street Journal* interview, he emphasized that he had suggested the Cuba blockade merely "hypothetically." On Kemp-Roth, he said he would need "a lot more study" and "a lot more input" before making up his mind, and he promised that any tax cut would have to be accompanied by "cutting government spending."

Reagan's abandonment of military threats and "new right" populism partly reflected his need, now that Bush was defeated, to assume a less vulnerable image for the fall campaign against Carter. But more was involved.

In early May, Reagan also announced the appointment of blue-ribbon committees on economic and foreign policy. With few exceptions, the members of these committees were the same notables who had shaped and

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participated in the Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford administrations. Many of them had supported Bush or John Connally in the primaries. And most were opposed to Kemp-Roth and fearful of Reagan's penchant for irresponsible jingoism.

Reagan's change of heart on Kemp-Roth and Cuba, along with his appointment of these advisers, represented his capitulation to the same Eastern establishment (albeit with a few Westerners thrown in) that has dominated past Republican presidents. These Republicans will now mold Reagan's campaign, and if he wins, they will fix the sights and fill the main offices of a Reagan administration.

But it would be wrong to conclude that with his acceptance by the Republican establishment, Reagan has now become a "moderate," or, in the words of his campaign staff, a "pragmatist." While eschewing any form of populism and wild threats against the Soviet Union, the Republican establishment has nevertheless moved steadily right during the last four years. The policies it will dictate to Reagan will be no less anathema to much of the world and many Americans as the policies the former governor might have thought up for himself while watching *Little House on the Prairie* at his Santa Barbara ranch.

The GOP establishment.

The majority of corporate executives, bankers, and lawyers have remained Republican. But only a fraction of these are active in national politics and government, and even this group is often content to act through trusted academics, military officers, and bureaucrats.

Some of the better known corporate Republicans are New York investment banker and former Treasury Secretary William Simon, Bechtel executives and former Nixon cabinet members George Schultz and Caspar Weinberger, G.D. Searle chairman and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, Hewlett-Packard chairman and former Defense Secretary David Packard, Morgan Stanley president Robert H.B. Baldwin, investment consultant and former Ford administration chief economist Alan Greenspan, top lobbyist and former Treasury undersecretary Charles Walker, and former Federal Reserve head Arthur Burns.

The corporate Republicans are often advised or represented by scholars and policy experts from the corporate-funded American Enterprise Institute (AEI) and the Hoover Institution, as well as from Ivy League and West Coast universities. Among the better known Republican mandarins are AEI's Herbert Stein and Paul McCracken, the Hoover Institution's Milton Friedman, Martin Anderson, and Glenn Campbell, and Harvard's Richard Pipes and Martin Feldstein.

Reagan's economic policy committee reads like a who's who of the Republican elite. Simon and Shultz head it, and it includes Burns, Greenspan, Walker, and Weinberger. It will largely work through Hoover's Anderson, a former Nixon staff member who is Reagan's top domestic policy adviser.

These men see the main economic problem in the U.S. as inadequate private investment. "The failure to return to a balanced, full-employment economy seems clearly to rest with inadequate private investment," Greenspan, probably the most respected Republican economist, says in a contribution to Hoover's symposium on *The United States in the 1980s*. "It probably explains much of the stagnation in productivity that in turn is contributing to our economy's inflation bias."

Reagan's corporate advisers cite two principle causes for investment slump: the uncertainty that surrounds business decisions because of inflation and government domestic-policy vacillation, and rising government reg-

taxes on business.

To encourage long-term investment, they advocate cuts in corporate taxes—through increased investment credits and accelerated depreciation of plant and equipment—the elimination or reduction of environmental, workplace, and product reliability regulations that affect business, fiscal and monetary restraint to discourage inflation, and a "steady hand" at the federal helm.

They oppose the Kemp-Roth tax, which they see as potentially inflationary and as too broad in its tax reduction targets. In *Business Week's* words, they see it as a "highly inefficient and dangerous method of increasing the nation's productive capacity."

They are also adamantly opposed to wage-price controls or to any other form of direct government intervention in the investment process. Part of their objection is practical. "They have never worked," Anderson says of wage-price controls. "They postpone and make the economic problems worse."

But part of the objection to government planning is political. "The substitution of government investment (and central planning) for private investment is scarcely a solution to the profound sense of malaise that confronts much of the industrial world," Greenspan says. "More disturbing, such policies can become self-justifying. It can be argued that private investment is weak and therefore centrally planned government investment is needed to fill the gap. But as central planning spreads, private investment incentives atrophy still more, justifying the initial premise that more central planning is needed. At the end of this path is a regimented economy."

In their distrust of any controls and their preference for government-induced recession as a means of combatting inflation, the establishment Republicans are essentially counseling Reagan to follow the same path as Gerald Ford. "The Ford administration was probably not too different from us," Anderson admitted to IN THESE TIMES.

But Simon, Greenspan and others have become far more militant foes of government regulation and corporate taxes since their days in the Ford administration. Even the most seemingly useful regulations, like cancer warnings on cigarette packages or fuel efficiency standards for automobiles, do not escape their scorn. And a corporate tax burden considerably below other industrial capitalist nations is seen as a hopeless impediment. "What we need at this point," Nixon adviser David Packard says in a recent interview, "is less 'soaking the rich.'"

This new angry mood, which also prevails among some Democrats like Dupont's Irving Shapiro, reflects an increasing desperation among corporate leaders, who see a reduction of their governmental costs as the only feasible means of encouraging domestic investment.

But there is an additional wrinkle to the Ford-Reagan comparison. Reagan advisers are unanimously calling for huge increases in defense spending, which would far exceed those contemplated in the Ford or Carter years. Their perception that such increases are needed flows from another change in the Republican establishment's

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WHERE'S MY NEWSPAPER?

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In search of peace with Iran

By Margherita Pagni

LOS ANGELES

ATORNEY LEONARD WEINGLASS was one of ten Americans who accompanied Ramsey Clark to the Tehran conference convened by President Bani Sadr to impeach the American government for criminal activities in Iran. The ten could be prosecuted for disregarding the presidential ban on travel to Iran and could be sentenced to 10 years in jail and a \$50,000 fine. The conference was attended by 100 delegations from 50 countries.

Weinglass—who is in good standing with the Iranian progressive faction for the role he played at the time of the Pentagon papers trial, as well as for his legal defense of Iranians facing criminal charges in this country—explained to *IN THESE TIMES* how the U.S. press has manipulated public opinion about the trip. The *Los Angeles Times* reports on the Clark mission, for example, included misrepresentations ranging from the gross (stating that Khomeini refused to see Clark) to the more subtle (depicting the delegation confined “for its own protection” in an isolated hotel).

Nor have the trade sanctions been as unanimously respected as the public is prone to believe: Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said that four days after the sanctions 134 American companies contacted Iranian offices all over the world to reassure them that business is business.

A few examples? Solar Company won the bid to build a mobile electric power plant of 2,500 megawatts. NIOC, the Iranian National Petroleum Company, is still purchasing equipment from Houston, Texas. One of the few Iranian industrial products still manufactured in Iran is the Peykan car, built with engine and spare parts of the Talbot Company (formerly English Chrysler), a consociate of French Peugeot-Citroen. The Moustazafyn Foundation (ex-Pahlavi Foundation), a financial group, is honoring its bills with New York creditors. In the bazaars, reports Italian correspondent Giuseppe Liuzzi, you can buy Shackey pizzas (from Ohio) and Kraft grated parmesan cheese. And so on.

The sanctions primarily have the effect of promoting inflation—now up to 50 percent—and speculation. The bazaar trade, in the hands of a powerful middle class the Iranians call “bazaary” (which, after being “put in its place” by the Shah, financially supported the revolution) prospers incredibly, fed by a network extending east and west. The bazaary also make ample use of the services of companies located in the Arab Emirates (Dubai, Shrijah, Abu Dhabi, Kuwait) that, acting as intermediaries, purchase merchandise, including American cars and wheat, from all over the world. The bazaary say that for these services they are charged as much as 40 percent of their profits.

One thing is certain: these sanctions are a blessing for a lot of businesses. And this should perhaps be kept in mind when we talk about intransigent bazaary in the U.S. or in Iran, where the bazaary are widely represented in the conservative Islamic Republican Party, which in turn controls the parliament by a slight majority.

That some prominent clergymen have been involved in scandals, mostly embezzlement of state funds clandestinely transferred abroad, is no secret. The workers of Tehran Central Bank published a list of people (several religious personalities among them) who exported foreign capital abroad for a total of \$80 million. Behesti, leader of the Islamic Republican Party, appeared on television to explain what happened to the 11 million German marks passing through his



Lawyer Leonard Weinglass was with Clark's delegation to Iran. He charges that the U.S. has not acted in good faith.



Left to right: Princeton Chaplain Rev. John Walsh, May Anderson of the American Friends Service Committee, Ramsey Clark, Rev. Charles Kimball, Nobel Prize biologist George Wald, Rev. Paul Washington, Kay Camp of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Leonard Weinglass.

pockets. Part went to finance the mosque in Hamburg, he said, and part, through some Beirut banks, was delivered to Lebanese guerrilla fighters. The response in Iran—and for once all foreign correspondents do agree—is skeptical, to say the least.

How the balance of power will shift in Iran in the next few months—and particularly in July when the parliament will deliberate on the hostages—is open to complex speculation. The situation in Iran is critical politically and economically, but it is also very fluid, with many elements playing into it. The standing and credibility of the conservative party is certainly one element, as well as the fast-growing political sophistication of a people who have been deprived for so long of democracy.

What documents were presented at the conference to support the claim that the U.S. interfered in Iran's internal affairs?

There were seven speakers at the confer-

ence, each covering an area of U.S. interference, from agriculture to petroleum, from the change of government to SAVAK. Each speaker quoted substantially from documents, mostly American, that do not leave any doubt on the matter. There is a memorandum from General Huyser to General Haig—Huyser was at the time Carter's representative in Iran and Haig was the head of NATO—in which Huyser points out that if the Bakhtiar government fails we should, I quote his words, “go to a straight military takeover.”

We were also given a document on the military, with a quote from then-Secretary of Defense Schlesinger, stating that “an attempt should be made to put pressure on Iran so they would purchase sophisticated military equipment that they either don't want or need.” The government of Iran purchased approximately \$20 billion of armament in a ten-year period. The military budget of Iran in 1970 was \$800 million; by 1977 it was

\$9.4 billion—a 1,300 percent increase.

In the area of agriculture, very interesting documents were revealed. Iran was almost self-sufficient in 1970; it imported only about \$111 million worth of food. By 1978 it was importing over \$3 billion. The reason? The Shah's so-called agricultural reform broke the hold the feudal lords had on the land, only to open it up to exploitation by multinational corporations. The land was turned into the production not of food, but of high-yield cash crops such as tobacco.

What is the evidence that American government officials helped the Shah establish SAVAK?

The documents indicate that SAVAK was set up with the aid of the CIA, on the Shah's request. The CIA, in fact, has acknowledged its role in setting it up and training its people. The chief of SAVAK graduated from a police academy in the U.S. in 1975. According to the Nixon doctrine, SAVAK was not just to control the Iranian people, but also to act throughout the Persian Gulf, suppressing various liberation movements—either by direct intervention or by training the police of those governments.

Was the claim of some of the hostages' espionage activities documented to you in any fashion?

I was shown a film interview, not released in the U.S., of a young man who worked in the embassy. He held up the rolls of film found in his office that had been used by the U.S. in conducting surreptitious espionage activities in Iran. He named his superior, and he testified at great length about illegal activities in the country. To understand why the Iranian government is so sensitive about the behavior of diplomats in Iran, one should remember that the Shah, in 1962, issued an order granting diplomatic immunity to all American military personnel serving in the country—they could murder, rape, rob or commit any crime without being prosecuted. There is no other country that has granted that to the U.S.

Do you share Mr. Clark's view that with the Tehran conference, all the efforts to put the hostages on trial as criminals have been blocked? Iranian officials' statements on the subject are very contradictory: Bani Sadr says one thing, but the ayatollahs say the opposite.

Continued on page 10.

IN SHORT

The system works!

The IRS estimates that last year 2,092 Americans were millionaires—up from 1,776 a year earlier.

Hung up

It was the next best thing to being there.

During a June 19 rehearsal involving a mock nuclear accident at the Dresden power plant, about 65 miles southwest of Chicago, safety experts had to resort to a regular telephone when the "disaster hot line" didn't work. According to an article in the *Chicago Sun-Times*, the hot line was supposed to alert at least six state and local agencies.

"I guess you could say I was a little upset," said Eric Jones, head of the Illinois Emergency Services and Disaster Agency.

The fake "disaster" included a simulation of what happened at Three Mile Island in March 1979. The session was held to train employees of the state and nearby counties who would coordinate operations in such an event.

Hamstrung

Advertising Age reports that ad industry execs have discovered the recession.

Budd Co. president James McNeal Jr. warned members of the Business/Professional Advertising Association that while America remains at "the top of the heap" when it comes to technology and productivity, its lead is shrinking. And he laid part of the blame to an overzealous regulatory system that condemns a product as "guilty until proven innocent."

John D. Caplan, executive director of General Motors Research Laboratories, pinpointed the sources of the problem: special-interest factions, especially Jane Fonda and activist-husband Tom Hayden, anti-nukers and environmentalists. "Too much democracy" has allowed such people to dominate "every issue of the day" and take their anti-science, anti-technology, anti-progress stand to "snail darter extremes," he grouched. "Overreacting in their zeal for risk-free solutions," the gadflies have created an atmosphere of fear, which has hamstrung the innovators.

Sorry service

The Secret Service has told Communications Workers union local leader Jane Margolis that it is sorry a "misunderstanding" led them to drag her out of the union's 1979 convention and hold her incommunicado while President Carter was addressing the gathering. Margolis, a delegate and Carter critic, had tried to introduce a motion earlier that day to disinvite Carter because of his anti-labor policies. Dozens of union officials and political activists rallied to the defense of Margolis and criticized the Secret Service move as a suppression of free-speech rights. In making its apology on June 6, the Secret Service also sent Margolis a check for \$3,500, which she donated to the union's defense fund.

NYC contracts update

New York's 240,000 non-uniformed city employees reached an early agreement with the Koch administration on two annual pay increases of 8 percent each, less than transit workers won after an 11-day strike this spring but close to what insiders had predicted (IN THESE TIMES, June 4). The city will continue an annual \$750 cash payment to each worker, but the union won a compromise on its demand to convert the payment into a rate increase that would also boost future pensions. The payment will be "rolled into" the base at the start of the next contract. Police and firefighters, who had demanded more than the coalition of other city employees, including the teachers, still were negotiating.

The costs of "freedom"

The Carter administration's "parole" of 129,000 freedom-seeking Cubans and Haitians is not getting the warmest response from state and local political leaders. Their constituencies must fork over 25 percent of the costs in providing medical assistance, special education and social services to these people for a year.

Meanwhile, back in Dade County, Fla., hundreds of homeless Cubans have been sleeping on cots in the Orange Bowl. The *Chicago Sun-Times* reports that most are young, single men who have been abandoned by their American sponsors and are ineligible, under Florida law, for many welfare benefits.

The stadium's assistant manager, Max Cruz, said he was worried that what one official has called the "Cuban Holiday Inn" might interfere with the Miami Dolphins' Aug. 15 National Football League exhibition game against the Detroit Lions.

Dick Nixon never would have let this happen.

—Josh Kornbluth and David Moberg



ERA has turned out the demonstrators—but not the needed votes.

ERA suffers another setback in long-running Illinois farce

The Equal Rights Amendment went to the floor of the Illinois House on June 18, even though ERA advocates had vowed not to take a roll call until they were sure of enough votes to meet this state's unusually stringent three-fifths majority rule.

The ERA vote had been postponed on May 14 when a headcount came up one short of the 106 needed. But Governor Jim Thompson and others had assured the pro-ERA forces that two Republicans were ready to switch sides. Yet as the roll call progressed it became clear that the amendment would still fail by two votes. Rep. James Taylor, a sponsor of the bill, quickly moved to postpone consideration, and that roll call was never completed. It is now unlikely that the ERA will come up before the legislature recesses.

While state and national media cleaned out their cache of clichés announcing the end of the road for the ERA, Illinois activists tried to figure out what had gone wrong. Rep. Gary Hannig, whose name had come up in connection with a bribery indictment brought against a pro-ratification volunteer (he was soon exonerated), changed his vote from yes to no. New Republican support did not materialize.

But Mary Jane Collins, president of Illinois NOW, explained the defeat less in terms of last-minute individual politicking than as a reflection of a broader shift to the right that has accelerated, particularly among Republicans, since Reagan gained a clear shot at the presidential nomination. That is a shift that the Illinois ERA campaign will be

working to reverse in district races throughout the state this fall. But they have opposed efforts to submit the ERA to a non-binding state referendum—a ploy, says Collins, to draw the ratification campaign into a costly media battle that would exhaust its resources and obscure other issues in the 1980 campaign.

—Lee Aitken

Safety first in New York

A strong bill giving workers the right to know of probable health hazards and dangers in their workplace sailed through the New York state legislature with only one "no" vote in the Senate and none in the Assembly, despite heavy business opposition. Gov. Hugh Carey hasn't said whether he will sign the bill into law, but the legislature would be likely to overturn any veto.

The bill, which was pushed by a broad community and labor coalition and initiated by the Western New York Council on Occupational Safety and Health (WNYCOSH), requires the commissioner of health to identify toxic and hazardous substances. Employers will have to give workers notice of known and probable hazards to their health or to their families' health that could result from working with the substances.

This would go well beyond a ruling made in late May by the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration that workers and their authorized agents must have access to workplace

medical records, such as records of toxic exposure or files on the potential harm of materials in the workplace. OSHA is considering requiring employers to maintain such material data files.

The New York bill covers private and public employers of all sizes and is stronger than anything in Canada or other parts of the U.S., WNYCOSH executive director Lee Smith said. With this legislation, Smith said, "workers will be able to take serious steps to protect themselves. It also makes employers know workers aren't going to leave control of the workplace to the employer. I think it will lead to control of the workplace as a bigger issue. It also shows labor can win if it takes the offensive."

—David Moberg

Nader troops raid Hollywood

Ralph Nader's moving into feature film and TV production—but don't expect to see "Consumer's Angels" on your tube right away.

Still in the first stages, the production company-in-the-offing plans to make films and TV programs that offer insight into social problems and inspire people to fight for the public interest. "Films like *Norma Rae*, *The China Syndrome*, *All the President's Men* are good examples of models for us," said lawyer Mark Litwak, who is moving to Los Angeles for the Nader organization to set up the company. Litwak has worked with Nader since 1972.

The raw material for entertainment drama is all in the Nader files, Litwak said. "We have incredible stories—not only what we've done, but stories that people have written to us about." Litwak plans to capitalize on the current entertainment trend toward "actuality programming," or use of real-life drama.

Plans for the big screen include films based on Lawrence Goodwyn's *The Populist Moment* and Robert Caro's *The Power Broker*.

Several TV-movie deals are already in the works. One concerns the "unbridled economic power a company has in a democracy, when it's a one-company town." Another concerns a group of students from an upper-class girls' school who investigate nursing homes.

The Nader group is also working on a pilot for a projected TV series based on Nader's *Raiders*. One of the stumbling-blocks is obtaining enough control over the series to keep it from turning into "Consumer's Angels," Litwak said.

Nader has also recently dipped into cable programming, with a public affairs program scheduled on Ted Turner's all-news format, and with a consumer program called *Ralph Nader: For the People*.

How firm are the movie deals? As yet, not very—Nader's production company will work with major studios, the holders of the millions of dollars necessary to make a movie. And since many more movies are talked about than made, nobody is waiting for the next *China Syndrome* come fall.

—Pat Aufderheide

IN THE NATION

NUCLEAR POWER

U.S. okays release of radioactive gas

By Greg Moyer

MIDDLETOWN, PA.

A HANDFUL OF ANTINUCLEAR groups have turned to the courts in a last-minute effort to block venting of radioactive Krypton gas from the reactor building at Three Mile Island.

A federal Appeals Court judge has agreed to hear charges on Friday, June 27, that the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) steamrolled public opposition by scheduling the first venting for Saturday, June 28. The controversial release could come less than two weeks after the NRC order giving permission

Local frustrations over the accident and the clean-up have now focused on the Krypton, but the real issue is whether the plant will ever reopen.

for the plan became final.

The five NRC commissioners unanimously decided on June 12 to accept Metropolitan Edison's plan for releasing 57,000 curies of radioactive gas. The decision did not become legally binding until it appeared in the Federal Register June 18. Customarily, an agency waits 30 days for appeals before an order is carried out.

Further anxiety gripped residents of south-central Pennsylvania this week when a report prepared by West German scientists cast doubts on the actual composition of the gas to be released. Contrary to NRC assessments, the West Germans claimed that its high concentrations of radioactive particulates may pose a greater health hazard than the Krypton-85 gas.

NRC officials deride the West German findings, noting that the scientists worked from data shown to be inaccurate in recent tests of the containment atmosphere.

Steven Scholly, an instigator of the suit and a staff member of the Three Mile Island Legal Fund, hopes the judge will force the NRC commissioners to hold a formal hearing where diverse viewpoints on the venting plan can be heard. Scholly does not believe that the shortened appeals period was an oversight. He reasons that the NRC wants the Krypton issue behind them before open hearings July 7 on the technical specifications of the damaged reactor. That set of hearings would be a natural opportunity for citizens to raise questions about the venting plan.

Unabated stress.

Not surprisingly, two recent independent studies have shown that the psychological stress associated with TMI has not disappeared in the months since the

accident on March 28, 1979. One report speculates that 10 to 20 percent of the population living near the plant—about 20,000 to 40,000 people—exhibits symptoms of physical or psychological strain related to the near meltdown.

But despite recent challenges to the wisdom of venting, the focus of people's fears seems to have shifted.

"The real issue is whether the plant will ever open again," said Don Hossler, a leader of People Against Nuclear Energy (PANE). Hossler, who edits the PANE newsletter, said the frustration goes beyond the health effects of Krypton-85. The venting plan crystalized people's anger, he explained, but it was hardly the sole cause of their concern.

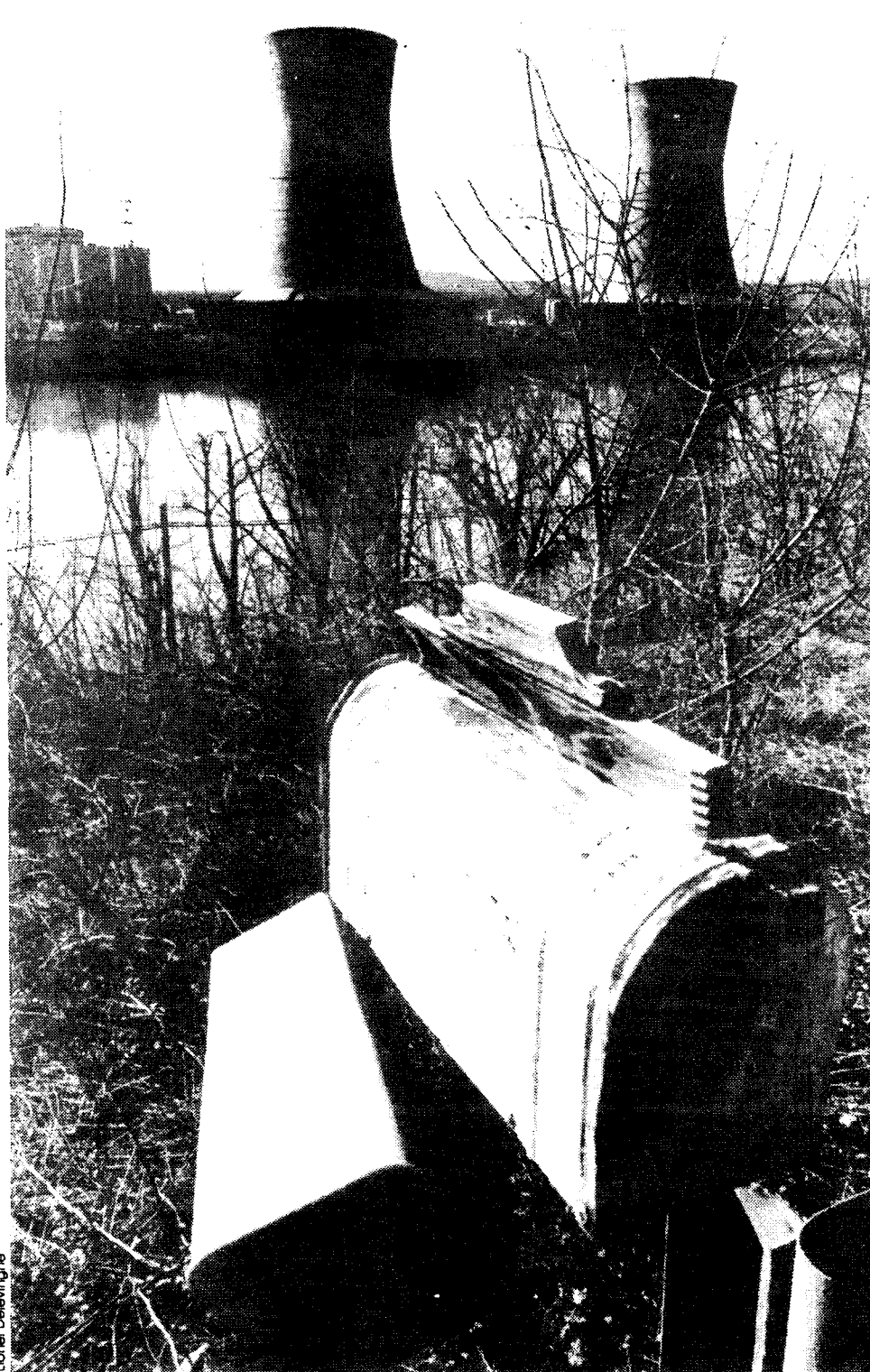
Middletown councilman Andrew Burger seems to agree.

"The people are frustrated about everything involving the accident and the clean-up," he said. "They just took it out on the Krypton."

Apparently Governor Thornburgh takes a narrower view. At a press conference recently, he backed the venting of Krypton-85 according to the NRC plan, stating that "the sooner the matter is resolved, the sooner the stress is resolved." He cited one paragraph in the Union of Concerned Scientists' report—a report that he commissioned—to buttress the recommendation. The five UCS scientists agreed with the NRC and the utility that there would be "no health effects from ground release venting." Dosages would fall in the range of 5 millirems. (The annual permissible exposure, according to the government, is 75 millirems.)

What Gov. Thornburgh chose to downplay were the major findings of the UCS study:

- that citizens need not be exposed to radiation in the amounts anticipated by the NRC plan.
- that the NRC should evaluate two al-



ternative techniques suggested by the UCS for venting the Krypton-85 as well as reconsider two Krypton recovery technologies already rejected.

•that the removal of Krypton should occur within one year and that it be done by whatever method best safeguards the health and safety of the local people.

Other ideas.

The specific suggestions of the UCS panel for handling the Krypton bear little resemblance to the NRC's high technology fixes.

One UCS idea calls for building an in-

cinerator with a 250-foot stack to heat the gas as it is vented. Elementary physics teaches us that warm air rises. The UCS scientists estimate that the hot gas would rise and disperse at an altitude equivalent to venting from a 1,000-foot stack. Currently, plans call for venting from a 160-foot stack, virtually guaranteeing that surface winds will blow the Krypton earthward.

The second proposal combines scientific imagination with a flare for political symbolism. UCS suggests suspending a 1,500-foot reinforced fabric tube from

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For the first time in Florida history a black has been named Grand Jury foreman in Dade County.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Small changes come to Dade County

By Manning Marable

MIAMI

THE MOST INTERESTING LEGACY of the Miami Rebellion has been the perception among most blacks that the racial uprising brought about an immediate improvement in their material and political conditions.

One columnist for the black weekly *Miami Times* recently warned readers, "Don't listen to all the crap about only black people lost their jobs as a result of the McDuffie Riots. Many of those companies burned out employed no blacks at all—and that was a part of the problem."

A renewed feeling of cooperation and commitment has emerged since the uprising. And an agenda of political and economic reforms for Liberty City has at long last obtained near unanimous support among every socio-economic sector of the black community.

Because of the rebellion, many now believe that black Miami's problems finally will be considered seriously by federal, state and local officials. In the first three weeks after the revolt, a number of developments sustained this point of view.

•On Tuesday, May 27, President Carter signed into law a measure that avert-

ed a June 1 cutoff of federal food stamp benefits. The bill authorized an additional \$3.3 billion for the fiscal year to supplement the \$6.2 billion originally allocated. Although Carter's action was not directly the result of the Miami violence, it was seen as an act of good faith here. Reports in the *Miami Times* several days before the rebellion that a food stamp cut-off was pending was a central factor in the uprising. (Unfortunately, few local political commentators pointed out that the food stamps appropriations bill will provide only \$2.56 billion, and that Congress must vote to provide the rest of the money by the end of the summer.)

•A White House task force of 11 professionals—representing the Departments of Housing and Urban Development, Commerce, the Small Business Administration and other agencies—was sent into Miami's black community. In a series of meetings at Caleb Community Center, White House officials discussed the needs of local black businesses and merchants in the Liberty City area. To one black observer, the task force's presence was direct evidence that "the federal government will be able to provide [aid] to restore the areas of Miami destroyed by rioting."

•Locally, the white Dade County establishment moved to improve its badly

tarnished image. The Miami Police Department appointed a black lieutenant, Perry Anderson, to serve as Commander of its Enforcement and Motor Unit, the division in charge of accident investigation and taxi cab licensing. Anderson is the first black police officer to hold the rank of commander in the history of Dade County. Similarly, Samuel Rahmings, a black postal clerk, was chosen by Dade County Circuit Judge George Orr to serve as foreman of Dade's Grand Jury for a six-month term—the first black to serve as foreman in Florida's history. The appointment of Rahmings plus three other blacks to serve on the 18-member grand jury was seen by some as a political concession to blunt criticism of the Dade County criminal justice system.

•Judge David Levy appointed acting state attorney Richard E. Gerstein and acting assistant state attorneys James C. Burke and Paul M. Rashkind to reexamine the tragic case in which Florida state patrolman Willie T. Jones sexually assaulted an 11-year-old black girl. After sworn testimony from 17 witnesses, the attorneys announced their findings on June 3. They charged that "the prosecution of W.T. Jones was not undertaken with the typical vigor attendant to child-molest cases"—a severe indictment of Dade County Prosecutor Janet Reno, a target of the black community's outrage. "Prosecutors did little to alleviate the investigator deficiencies of police; no attempt was made to update the investigation or to assure the welfare of the victim." In short, attorney Gerstein concluded, Reno's office's handling of the child molestation case was "insensitive, indifferent and incomplete." The attorneys recommended that their report should be turned over to the U.S. Department of Justice for a violation of the black child's civil rights.

•Dade County legislators proposed a financial package to address the economic problems of Miami's inner city. The plan would raise the 4 percent sales tax to 5 percent for up to three years. Governor Robert Graham embraced the proposal, which would generate about \$250 million to rebuild Liberty City, Overtown and Miami's other black communities. *Miami Herald* editor Alvah H. Chapman addressed a meeting of legislators, declaring that the proposal would "restore and redevelop the physical part of the low end of our economic scale."

Eastern Airlines president Frank Borman also endorsed the tax plan.

Despite all of these "progressive" steps, the grim reality of black life in Miami has not changed at all. If anything, an anti-black backlash has already begun to set in, politically and economically.

One of the most prominent black critics of the Miami establishment, attorney H.T. Smith, was arrested in the downtown business area—for littering. According to police Sgt. William Farrington, Smith removed a parking ticket from his car, destroyed it and threw it to the ground. Farrington promptly arrested the lawyer, who denies the charges. If convicted, Smith could receive a penalty of six months imprisonment and a \$500 fine; he also could be suspended from his law practice by the Florida Bar Association. Smith charges that the police department is attempting to discredit him politically and perhaps even to remove him from the bar. "The message is: we can get you anytime we want to," he said.

In Tallahassee, state legislators balked at the so-called "bail-out" of Miami's black community. State Representative Gwen Margolis of North Miami Beach spoke for her colleagues by charging that the tax was "the most open-ended, incredible bill I have ever seen in my whole life." The state legislature adjourned June 6 without passing the bill.

Finally, President Carter dashed whatever hopes remained within Liberty City's black community that massive fiscal assistance, "Great Society-style," was in the works. Carter met with local black leaders on June 9 at the James E. Scott Community Association conference hall. Before blacks were allowed to present their views, Carter informed the audience that he "had no new money or programs but was willing to meet this community half-way in whatever plans they had to rebuild the riot-torn areas" of Miami.

According to the *Miami Times*, "The audience was almost speechless. Obviously the leaders and businessmen had been caught with their programs down." It is not surprising that black youth and Liberty City residents threw bottles and bricks at the nation's chief executive as he was leaving the black community. Nothing had changed at all.

■ *Manning Marable teaches political economy at Cornell University's African Studies and Research Center. This is his third report on race relations in Dade County.*

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POLITICS

Citizens Party seeks 5 percent solution

Commoner's party has lost Massachusetts, but its new campaign manager is hopeful about fall.

By John Judis

LAST APRIL, THE CITIZENS Party, which is pledged to economic democracy, solar energy and detente, nominated Barry Commoner and La Donna Harris as its presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Since then, it has assembled a campaign staff, led by Californian Bill Zimmerman, and conducted ballot access campaigns in states where Commoner-Harris had to qualify by early summer. The results have been mixed.

The party has gotten on the ballot in Kentucky, Maine, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio and Utah. It has not qualified in some states with onerous ballot laws like West Virginia and Maryland and in others like Kansas and Idaho where the party has little present potential. But it failed to qualify in Massachusetts, a potentially important Citizens Party state, where it was required to submit 39,245 signatures by May 6.

The party's staff blame the failure on local chapters that emerged from the fractious April convention weak, disorganized and disillusioned. Boston member Mike Heichman also blames the lack of coverage the party's effort got from the Boston press.

The subsequent appointment of Zimmerman as campaign manager may ensure that there will be no more Massachusettses. Zimmerman managed Tom Hayden's surprising 1976 Senate campaign. Through his Los Angeles media firm, Loudspeaker, he has worked in local campaigns and in state initiatives. Most recently, he did the media for the June "Tax Big Oil" initiative in California, which got 40 percent of the vote.

Zimmerman plans to focus the fall campaign on getting the 5 percent of the vote the party needs to qualify retroactively for matching funds. He is considering slogans like "the 5 percent solution" to highlight the party's goal.

With those matching funds, Zimmerman and party leaders hope to build an organization that can get 15-20 percent of the vote in 1984 and become a "majoritarian party" by 1988 or 1992. "While the Citizens Party isn't the perfect vehicle, given the people who are in it right now, for launching such a long-range plan," Zimmerman said, "somebody has got to do it at some point, and I don't think we'll have a better opportunity than 1980, given the chaos and confusion in the establishment camp."

Zimmerman likes the idea of campaigning for 5 percent of the vote. "When you're out for 50 percent of the vote," he said, "you have to be a centrist and mealy-mouthed. When you're out for 5 percent, you can be outspoken, and because you're outspoken you increase the likelihood of getting the vote."

Zimmerman thinks that Anderson's candidacy could actually help Commoner. "It will legitimate a non-major party vote," he said. "And as people become more aware of who Anderson is, they will be ready to vote for an alternative, and that will redound to the favor of either Commoner or [Libertarian Party candidate Ed] Clark."

Continued on page 22.



Environmentalist Barry Commoner and Indian activist La Donna Harris congratulate each other after receiving the presidential and vice-presidential nominations of the Citizens Party at their April 11-13 convention in Cleveland.

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HSSF

Krypton

Continued from page 7.

a helium balloon hovering over the island. The stack from the containment would be connected to the suspended tube, dramatically increasing the height of the release point.

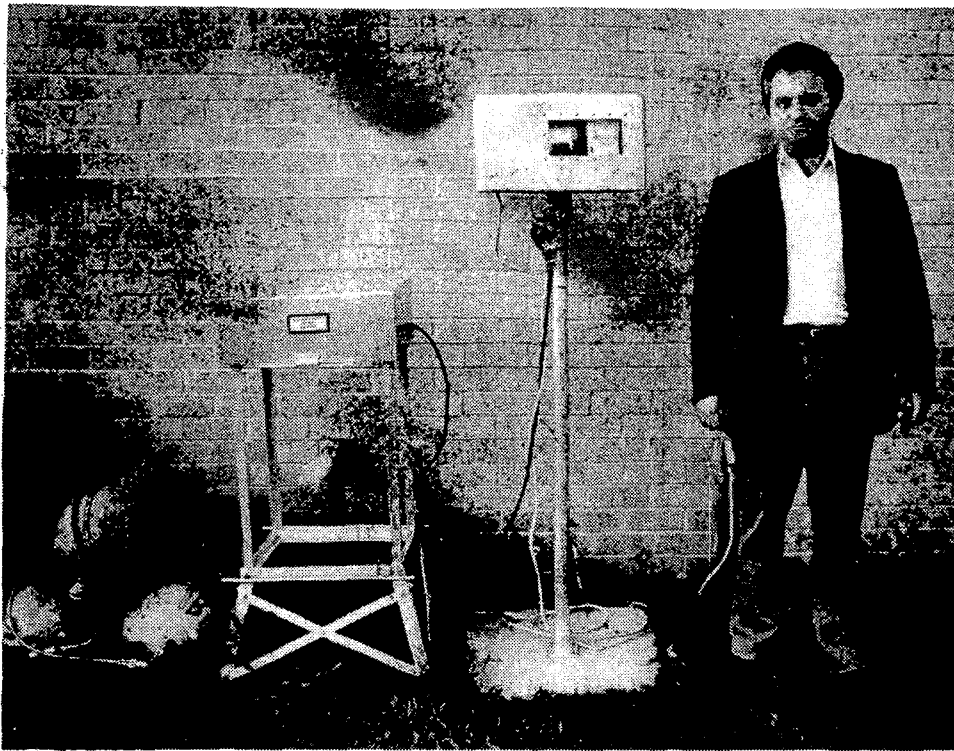
Dosage levels projected by UCS using the incinerator system are 4,000 times lower than the NRC plan for people living near the plant, and 15 times lower for people living 15 miles away. Greater reductions could be expected using the balloon and suspended tube. In effect, dosages from the Krypton-85 venting would become immeasurable.

UCS projects that the incinerator would cost \$250,000; the balloon and tube \$120,000. The NRC technologies carry price tags from \$10 million to \$160 million. Ground level venting costs \$75,000.

Both PANE and Three Mile Island Alert endorse the UCS report.

For Don Hossler it indicts the NRC and the utility, Metropolitan Edison, for not trying hard enough to explore alternatives. To Hossler, the NRC's decision regarding venting was a test of the agency's sensitivity to local concerns—and it failed.

"The regulatory agencies seem to be afraid to make this thing work," Hoss-



Middletown's councilman Andrew Burger, seen here next to the town's radiation monitoring gear, has demanded more cooperation from Metropolitan Edison in monitoring health effects.

ler said. "They seem to be afraid to try anything except venting. You know, if one of the alternatives fails, you can always vent."

Picking up the bill.

While Middletown battles with Met Ed over clean-up, the 359,000 Pennsylvania customers of the utility are shouldering hefty rate increases to cover the cost of

replacement power. In the 12 months since the accident, rates have climbed 35 percent.

The situation dramatically worsened after the state Public Utility Commission recently granted Metropolitan Edison a \$126 million rate increase that allows the company to recover all of its replacement power costs. The decision came despite evidence that the utility

should be penalized financially for its culpability in the accident.

Immediately after the accident, many observers thought the PUC hearings would end Met Ed's life as a public utility. Clearly, if the PUC had decided to force the company to absorb the cost of replacement power, Met Ed would have filed for bankruptcy.

But the commission concluded that no suitable alternative exists but to allow Met Ed to stay in charge of TMI and allow it, as PUC chairwoman Susan M. Shanahan said, "an adequate framework for Met Ed's recovery."

The PUC did remove the undamaged Unit One reactor from the company's rate base so that customers are now protected from carrying the cost of clean-up and maintenance at Three Mile Island.

Though tight-lipped after the hearing, William G. Kuhns, chairman of General Public Utilities, the parent company of Met Ed, said, "I think it is safe to say that this decision will be watched very closely by the rest of the nuclear community."

Possibly Chris Sayer of TMI Alert summed up the financial case best when he said, "The ratepayer was hurt, the stockholders were hurt, but the consortium of lenders led by New York banks made out. The people who floated Met Ed \$292 million in credit had their loans guaranteed."

Greg Moyer reports regularly for *IN THESE TIMES* from the Three Mile Island area.

Reagan

Continued from page 3.

worldview—in this case, their view of American-Soviet relations.

Like his economic advisers, Reagan's foreign-policy advisers are either members of the Republican establishment like Packard, Rumsfeld and Paul Nitze (an establishment Democrat, as well) or trusted representatives like the University of Southern California's William R. Van Cleave, Harvard's Pipes, retired generals Daniel O. Graham and Edward L. Rowny, former National Security Council staff Richard V. Allen, Hoover experts Richard Staar and Peter Duignan, and former Arms Control Agency director Fred Charles Ikle.

Reagan's advisers share a certain political history. Most of those who were Nixon or Ford administration members, like Nitze, Ikle, and Allen, resigned because of differences with Kissinger. Others, like Graham, Van Cleave, and Pipes, as well as Nitze, were members of the "B Team" assembled by CIA director George Bush in 1976 to review the agency's optimistic estimates of relative Soviet-American strength. Most of them were associated with Nitze's Committee on the Present Danger and Graham's Coalition for Peace through Strength, which lobbied against SALT II and for rapid defense increases.

Their views do not presently differ sharply from those of Kissinger or Ford, but this is because the latter's views, along with those of most of the Republican establishment, have changed over the last four years.

Reagan's establishment advisers reject Kissinger's concept of detente and reassert the Cold War view of the Soviet Union as an aggressive expansionist power bent on world domination. "We are dealing with an adversary who is driven not by fear, but by aggressive impulses, who is generally more innovative in the field of political strategy than we are, and who selects his victims carefully, with long-term objectives in mind," Pipes wrote in a recent *Commentary* article.

Reagan's advisers reject the possibility of any general understanding with the Soviet Union based upon mutual spheres of influence or any gradual convergence between the two powers based upon expanded trade and negotiation. Hoover's Staar advocates that trade with the Soviet Union be based strictly upon barter and that it not include either grain or technology.

Reagan's advisers see Third World conflicts largely as East-West power struggles. They see a politics of human rights as useful in challenging Communist nations but counter-productive when used against American allies, including such countries as South Africa. The charges of South African racism are "exaggerated," according to the Hoover's Duignan.

Reagan's advisers believe that since the early '70s the Soviet Union has built a lead in strategic and conventional arms over the U.S. that SALT II would institutionalize. They would advise Reagan to scrap SALT II and to push ahead with the MX, Cruise, a B-1 type bomber, and the neutron bomb.

Some of them say their objective is to regain parity with the Soviet Union, but others frankly admit they want to achieve strategic superiority. "Given the disparity between our two systems, our system is in grave military jeopardy if we accept that the Soviets should have equality," General Graham explained in an interview with *IN THESE TIMES*. "To grant the Soviet Union, an aggressive expansionary nation, parity is to grant them strategic superiority."

Reagan will face graver political obstacles than Ford or Carter.

Given their view of current Soviet-American strength ("Not even an immediate massive, crash effort by the United States could halt this shift in the strategic balance," Fred Ikle says), they think the U.S. should proceed cautiously in the world. Most of the establishment Republicans did not favor military actions in Iran or the Persian Gulf. They were equally skeptical of Reagan's plan for a Cuba blockade.

But Reagan's advisers strongly reject any charge that they or Reagan would plunge the U.S. into World War III. Instead, they insist that building up American military power to rival the Soviet Union, as they suggest, is the only means of avoiding confrontations and war.

To regain parity with or superiority over the Soviet Union, these advisers project enormous increases in the defense budget. Last winter, some of them called for up to \$30 billion in additional defense spending for FY1981, a 20 percent increase over Carter figures. Most of the advisers closest to Reagan are now reluc-

tant to name any figure or percentage for the Reagan years, but Herbert Stein's estimate in the *Wall Street Journal* of a 15 percent real annual growth probably reflects standard Republican thinking.

Such an increase would put a tremendous strain on Reagan's budget office—far greater than the Ford or Carter administrations ever experienced. But Reagan's top advisers do not flinch. "Defense and a healthy economy go together, of course, but I believe that in approaching the budget right now that what we should do is figure out what we must do for defense and after we've done that, then let the budget and tax decisions be in a follow-on position to that," Reagan adviser George Shultz said on *Meet the Press* June 15.

This means that Republican policymakers will have to accept an unbalanced budget (Ford's 1975-76 deficits are still records), initiate tax increases (which Herbert Stein recently called for), or make dramatic cuts in social spending, which would probably have to include cutting transfer payments like social security. None of these alternatives will prove acceptable to both popular opinion and Reagan's Republican advisers. Reagan—even more than Ford—will face insoluble budgetary problems.

In this respect, Reagan gains something and loses something by his capitulation to corporate Republicanism. In the 1980 general election, he gains a certain respectability. With the likes of Simon, Shultz, and Burns supporting him, the national media will find it more difficult to accept Carter's portrayal of Reagan as an irresponsible wild man. If Reagan wins, his establishment ties will give him access to the best Republican talent. But these ties also pose grave political dangers—both to Reagan and to the country.

Politics of 1980-1984.

The corporate Republican policies will threaten Reagan's hold over the Republican right. Reagan's right-wing supporters know that Schultz and Arthur Burns are no friends of small business or the middle-class professional, nor are they tried and true enemies of big government. (Burns, after all, forced wage-price controls on Nixon.) The Republican right is already agitated at Kemp's and his proposals having been given a back seat. Knowing this, Reagan will retain Kemp and some version of the tax cut during the campaign, but if he wins, he will quickly discard them both. For the Republican right, this will signal final betrayal at the hands of the Eastern establishment.

But the possibilities of an anti-Reagan

revolt are even greater among Democrats and middle-class Independents. In practice, Reagan's policies will entail government-induced unemployment to hold down prices, deterioration in social services, skyrocketing energy and housing prices, increased pollution, and bankrupt cities. They will mean the impoverishment of the middle-class as well as the working class.

Such policies will reconfirm the reputation of the Republicans as the party of big business—a reputation it has been earnestly trying to change. They will awaken considerable popular opposition to Reagan and the Republicans and perhaps even hasten the creation of an anti-corporate left within the Democratic Party. At the least, they should insure that Reagan or his appointed successor suffers the same fate that befell Ford.

But, of course, there is still another possibility. As anyone familiar with Reagan's record as California governor must admit, he is a consummate politician. He has always been able to use social or foreign policy issues to create coalitions across class lines. In California, he used the fear and disgust with which many working-class and middle-class whites viewed the black rioters and the campus radicals to build a majority coalition against the incumbent governor, Edmund G. Brown, and later against his 1970 Democratic challenger. This coalition unwittingly endorsed eight years of the redistribution of California's wealth toward the rich. To succeed as president, Reagan would have to use foreign policy and social issues to create a similar diversion from the basic economic issue.

The most likely candidate is the Soviet threat. By exploiting public fears about Soviet invasions or takeovers, Reagan could justify feeding an already bloated military while starving social services. He might even be able to get away with a tax increase. And he could rally both his disaffected right-wing followers and patriotic working people to his side.

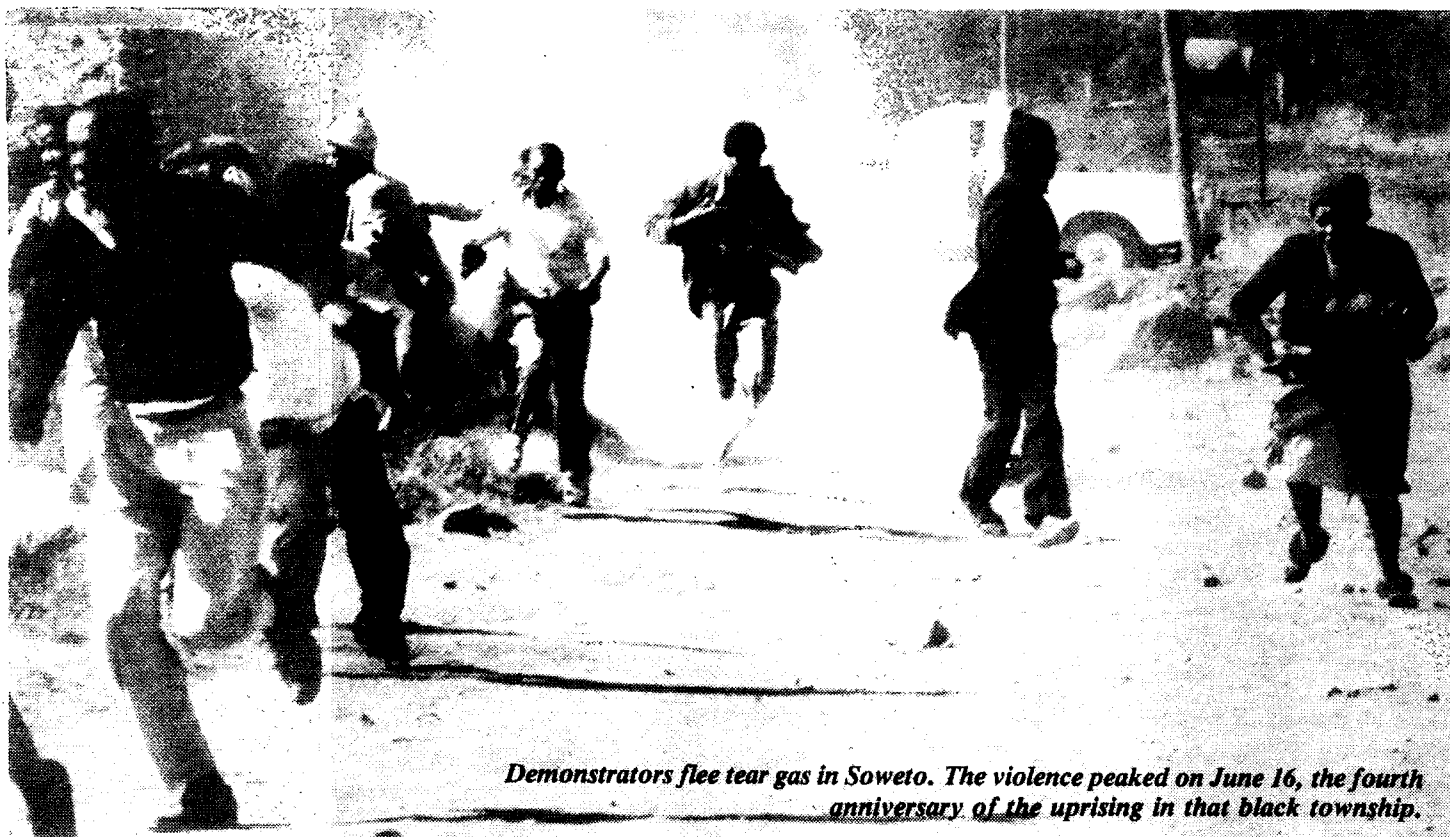
It is very likely that Reagan as president would resort to such a tactic. If he did, it could have the most terrible consequences. A politics of neo-Cold War hysteria will tend to create an ideological reality that government policy makers and politicians must then adjust to. Even Jimmy Carter had to learn this when his posturing about the Soviet brigade in Cuba doomed SALT II and set the U.S. and the USSR on a collision course.

By conjuring up threats of war, a president can make war itself more likely.

Of course, neither Reagan nor the Republican establishment wants a war, but there is a logic about their political dilemma that leads in that direction.

IN THE WORLD

SOUTH AFRICA



Demonstrators flee tear gas in Soweto. The violence peaked on June 16, the fourth anniversary of the uprising in that black township.

Sabotage, protests and strikes challenge the Botha regime

By James North

JOHANNESBURG

THE MORNING AFTER AFRICAN National Congress (ANC) guerrillas blew up one part of a Sasol oil-from-coal plant south of here, the liberal *Rand Daily Mail* remarked editorially, "This country is now in a state of revolutionary war."

The paper's assessment is still a bit premature, though its apocalyptic tone could be pardoned while smoke from the blaze—the biggest in South African history—billowed more than two miles into the air.

But there is little doubt that South Africa is experiencing the most extensive upheaval ever. A mood bordering on insurrection is sweeping the country. Only a miracle—the persistent discipline and courage of black protestors, together with a degree of police restraint—has prevented it from exploding into a bloodbath that would dwarf the 1976 uprising.

Virtually all the major urban centers are affected. The black school-boycott campaign, which showed signs of ending in mid-May, has rekindled and spread to even more areas. The students' original commitment to nonviolence is eroding; the young people more and more are responding to police brutality by stoning and burning vehicles. One policeman in the Cape was stabbed to death during a demonstration. In response, police acted happily on a shoot-to-kill order. The official death toll is 32, but the press—which was not allowed into the affected areas—insists it is higher.

The biggest wave of strikes in seven years has idled thousands of workers at plants and mines across the country. A bus boycott in the Cape is almost completely successful, and the ANC's attack at Sasol—easily the most spectacular raid in its history—has permanently destroyed its lingering image of ineffectuality and served notice that it, and the guerrilla struggle that it will carry out, will be a force to be reckoned with.

The apartheid regime seems confused and uncertain. Though it has already detained an estimated 400 people, it has still not cracked down with past ruthlessness. The Capetown casualty figures don't begin to approach the 1976 death toll of at

least 1,000 dead—and probably more.

Prime minister P.W. Botha may be exercising some restraint because he still nourishes hopes for his cosmetic reform policy, though the eruption has certainly crippled some of those half-hearted initiatives. More likely, he is deterred by world opinion, for which another Sharpeville or Soweto could provide the catalyst to start talking seriously about some form of economic sanctions.

The original boycott leaders, and others, are by no means ecstatic at the growing risk of uncontrolled violence. They

would prefer a continuation of the discipline that characterized the first phase of the protest. "If a riotous situation emerges, then the issue becomes hatred," one seasoned black leader here said. "The long-range political goals we are fighting for are forgotten." Random violence can also set back the struggle; Soweto has played a relatively minor role in the present round of unrest because so many of its activists were either detained, banned, or forced into exile after 1976. "Their wounds are still raw," the black leader explained.

ANC takes militant lead

The African National Congress was founded in 1921, just two years after the Union of South Africa was formed. The first ANC activists, who were mostly church leaders and members of the tiny black professional class, carried out a restrained and dignified petition campaign against the intensifying system of racial domination.

In 1948 the National Party came to power and apartheid immediately became more draconian. In response, younger ANC activists, including Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, and other current senior leaders, formulated a militant, nonviolent Program of Action. In the 1952 "defiance campaign" the ANC led a nationwide effort to deliberately disobey certain apartheid statutes; close to 10,000 people went to prison.

The nationalist regime only responded with more oppression, putting the ANC leaders, including its president, Chief Albert J. Lutuli, through a marathon "treason trial." At the same time, an "Africanist" faction within the ANC charged that the organization worked too closely with whites and Indians, particularly those in the illegal, multi-racial Communist Party. In 1959, the faction broke away to form the Pan-Africanist Congress.

In 1960 the PAC, which had also accused the ANC of lacking militance, staged the anti-pass campaign that resulted in the Sharpeville massacre and the banning of both organizations. The

now-underground ANC then carried out a sabotage program, attacking non-human targets, in a last attempt to force the regime to the bargaining table. The effort failed, and Mandela and its other organizers are still in prison.

The ANC weathered the long years in exile better than its rival, which was plagued by poor leadership and vicious infighting. The PAC is no longer a serious political force. The ANC grew closer to the Communist Party—membership in the two overlaps in some cases—and received arms, supplies and training from the USSR and its allies. It was therefore in a position to absorb many of the several thousand young people who fled the country after 1976 and now constitute the ANC's growing guerrilla army.

The organization is by no means a Soviet puppet. Its leadership does include a significant number of communists, both black and white, some of whom are insufficiently de-Stalinized. But it is above all a broad-based front, with a basically nationalist program that includes democratic socialist features. The ANC also enjoys strong support inside the country from people who are unconcerned with its international alignment as long as it fulfills its growing promise in the struggle. Whether the ANC's communist membership becomes ascendent will depend greatly on how the West reacts as the fighting escalates.

—James North

By contrast, labor's participation in the protest has remained disciplined, despite gross provocations by the regime and some employers. In one case, 42 meat workers in the Cape are being held without bail. The workers maintain, quite reasonably, that they are legitimate residents of the area awaiting the resolution of their strike. The regime (undoubtedly encouraged by the employer) says the 42 forfeited their right to remain when they struck, and must now be deported to "their" bantustans.

In another instance, the regime moved against the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU), a group of 13 mostly black unions representing 50,000 workers. In a transparent effort to destroy the increasingly influential federation, the regime unilaterally banned it from raising funds either here or overseas. These and other moves once again exposed last year's much-heralded "new deal" for black labor as a sham.

The regime's efforts to win over Africans of mixed descent ("coloreds") and Indians are also ending in a debacle. Botha is proposing a President's Council of selected "coloreds" and Indians that would advise the white government. Leaders from the two communities refused to serve, in part because the council will exclude 20 million "Africans." Hennie Smit, the minister of posts and telecommunications, explained that Africans were being left out because they were "less developed," with "slower thought processes." A nationwide uproar ensued over Smit's remarks, and no legitimate leader from any of the three communities will endorse the council now.

Counterattacks.

By contrast, the regime's response to the Sasol raid was instant—and deadly. One day after the blast, what can only have been its agents bombed an ANC house in neighboring, black-ruled Swaziland, killing two people. (No one died in the Sasol attack.)

The protest wave reached one peak on June 16, the anniversary of the outbreak of the Soweto rebellion. Since 1976, blacks have observed the date as a holiday to commemorate the dead and to pledge together to continue the struggle. This year, the nervous regime banned all gatherings intended to observe the June 16 holiday, including church services. Young people in Soweto and elsewhere predictably responded with stepped-up violence.

Simultaneously, Botha told a hushed parliament that the biggest battle between the South African army and SWAPO, the Namibian guerrilla movement, has taken place in southern Angola. Botha claimed the government had killed 200 SWAPO fighters while losing 16 of its own soldiers. He tried to paint an optimistic picture of the fighting there, but shock at the casualties spread through the white community.

Lost in the news of turmoil was the prediction that South Africa's real economic growth for both 1980 and 1981 will be the second highest in the Western world, trailing only Japan. The eruption may still alter that forecast, but it at least seriously calls into question the argument put forward by various multinational corporations that foreign investment and consequent economic growth here tend to erode apartheid. Events of the past few months show that the system is as powerful and evil as ever, even as the boom induced by high gold prices gets underway.

A more telling response to the pro-investment rationale was offered by the ANC commandos who placed explosives next to the local headquarters of Fluor, the American-based corporation that is building Sasol, at the same time that their colleagues were blasting the refinery itself. The Fluor bomb was detected and defused, but its existence underscored the point that the ANC and other opponents of apartheid consider investment a vital strategic aid to the enemy during the struggle for liberation. Whether Fluor has integrated toilets or pays its black workers adequate wages seems unimportant as South Africa moves closer to war.

James North is the IN THESE TIMES correspondent in Southern Africa.

Iran

Continued from page 3.

We were invited by President Bani Sadr, and that is definitely one faction that wants to resolve the crisis and does not want to put the hostages on trial. What disturbs me somewhat about reporting in the U.S. on the internal politics of Iran is that there are great objections here to the existence of different factions. It seems to me that when one government speaks with one voice only, there is reason to suspect the nature of that government. Iran has a number of political elements, but, like the U.S., there are only two parties that have significant political power: The Islamic Republican Party on the right, and the more progressive Bani Sadr faction. The U.S. uses the fact that opinion is divided in Iran for not talking to Bani Sadr, in line with our continuing policy to try to destabilize that government. By doing that, we play into the hands of the conservatives, who are essentially more anti-American and opposed to the release of the hostages—but ironically enough, ideologically closer to the U.S.

The importance of the conference is that it strengthened Bani Sadr's posi-

tion. Of the 39 delegations that spoke at the conference, none called for a trial. The Ayatollah Khomeini has not taken a position, publicly, on whether or not they should be tried, but now that he has the results of the conference, he might take a stand.

I understand that Bani Sadr made some verbal requests to Clark, as far as the release of the hostages is concerned. One point though is not clear to me: what about the restoration of the Shah's wealth? And can you also clarify what kind of acknowledgement of American crimes in Iran Bani Sadr expects?

First, the conference did not call for the return of the Shah, or his wealth. The conference merely went on record as recognizing the right of the Iranian people to seek the extradition of the Shah and his wealth—which is an extremely moderate stand. Also, when we met privately with Bani Sadr, the Shah's return to Iran—or his wealth—did not even come up in the conversation. What Bani Sadr did discuss with us is that the crisis could be ended if the U.S. would give, to use his words, sound and logical assurances to the Iranian people that it would stop interfering in their internal affairs. Sound and logical assurances must be accompanied by actions. And the actions he asked for were threefold: first, the U.S. must end its attempts to subvert Iran from within; second, the U.S. must end its attempts to subvert Iran from without, by arming other persons; third, the U.S. must drop the economic boycott and isolation of Iran, and he made specific references to resuming the shipment of spare parts. These were the major conditions he talked about. Bani Sadr believes a shift could occur if a commission were set up in the U.S., headed by Ramsey Clark, that would get out the full documentation of American involvement in Iran. He was confident that, if the American people had the full record before them, they would not allow their government to continue to interfere.

It seems to me that there are only two possibilities as far as the hostage crisis is

concerned. One is dealing with the Iranians, and the other is military intervention. A propos of military intervention, I read professor George Wald (another member of the Clark delegation) express the suspicion that after all it might serve the interest of this government to have the hostages prisoners in Iran, because it gives them a very good excuse for any type of intervention they should decide upon in the future—including, and this is my own speculation, seizing the oilfields. I would agree with that assessment. My own view is that the present policy of the U.S. is to destabilize the government of Iran. It is the same policy we had toward Chile. The way we destabilize the government of Iran is by keeping the hostages there, by promoting inflation and political discord in that country, and by the constant threat of military intervention.

During the conference, has there been any speculation—especially from other Muslim countries—of what would happen in the whole area in case of U.S. military intervention?

The Muslim countries were the strongest single component at the conference and the concern was voiced over and over again of the military threat the U.S. poses in the Persian Gulf. One of the most striking presentations was by the rebel delegation from Afghanistan, which spent the first half of the speech condemning the Soviet Union for its invasion—as everyone expected—and the second half condemning the U.S. for its hypocritical attitude in posturing support for the rebels all the time, using the Afghan situation not to aid the rebels materially, but to justify a huge military build-up in the Persian Gulf, which directly threatens the Iranian revolution.

The U.S. press describes Iran as a country plunging into chaos, and I have also read statements to the effect that the communist party, the compact and well-organized Tudeh, is filling up official posts.

One thing that is constantly overlooked here is the fact that in the first national election President Bani Sadr received 70 percent of the vote. I don't think there has been a president in the U.S. in a century who could count on that much support. Granted, the parliament is in other hands, the hands of the Islamic Republican Party, by a slight majority. I might add that the timing of the rescue mission—which occurred in the week of the elections—aided the conservatives.

It was not our impression that the government or society are falling apart in Iran. Things appeared to be normal. Food is plentiful. There might be a slight shortage of goods, because of the economic boycott and because of the austerity measures adopted by the Bani Sadr government. At the time of the revolution, Iran was exporting over 5 million barrels of oil. It is now exporting 500,000 barrels—a 90 percent drop-off in their major source of income. We were informed that this is a purposeful policy of the government, which is attempting to shrink the economy to wring out all the excesses of consumerism brought about by the '70s boom.

Now, for the Tudeh party, I have indications it is under pressure from the government. It is not suppressed as broadly as other elements of the left such as the Fedayeen and the Muhajadeen, who do face an outright oppression in the country. But there was no indication that the Tudeh party is large, strong, growing or on the verge of a takeover.

One significant fact, I think, is that, finding itself relatively isolated, condemned by the UN, the Iranian government through this conference turned to the more progressive international communities, particularly to the Third World countries, which spoke very warmly of the Islamic revolution.

What is the role Khomeini plays in the country? Is he a mediator, like Bani Sadr?

It is hard to interpret precisely what Khomeini intends to do, but it appears that at this stage he is trying to balance forces within his country. After Bani Sadr received 70 percent of the popular vote Khomeini turned over the entire military forces to him. He gave the other side, the Islamic Republican Party, control over

the revolutionary guards, who are the second military force in the country. It seems therefore that Khomeini presides over a balance of forces in Iran, that he allows a dialogue to occur inside and outside the institutions. He waits for the dialogue to be completed, and then he indicates his position.

It was reported by the American press that, although people love and respect Khomeini, they consider several clergymen, such as the Ayatollahs Khomeini and Beheshti "rapacious and dishonest men." The subject of corruption among the Mullahs has been widely reported. I hope it will not make us forget the vast corruption in our own country. The closest advisers to the Shah are all here in Los Angeles. There are buildings now in downtown Los Angeles that have been built or purchased by the Iranians who left the country with illegal currency. There is not a whimper of protest in the U.S. about this, although the importation of illegal currency certainly fuels both inflation and the housing shortage in Los Angeles.

Is it true that the delegation in Tehran was "confined in the secluded Hilton Hotel," as the Los Angeles Times printed?

I don't understand those reports. Not only were we free, we were even offered a car and a driver to go anywhere we wanted to. I walked around the streets, I walked around the embassy, all over downtown; I went over to visit Dick Gregory who has lost 47 pounds in a fast and is down to 108.

What about the accusations by the Islamic Republican Party that Clark is a CIA agent?

That was in fact broadcast over the state radio controlled by the IRP, which did not support the conference. But something the media did not report here is that within the last two days the national state radio has changed its position on Clark, describing him as a well-intentioned American patriot.

Let's talk about the possibility of prosecution in this country for your trip to Iran. Clark defends the legality of the trip on constitutional grounds: the right of any citizen to travel, speak and assemble. Positions among the U.S. officials seem quite contradictory: Carter says you should be prosecuted, Secretary of State Muskie made a statement in the opposite direction.

As far as the legality of the mission, let me point out that of the 10 delegates who went, three are attorneys: Ramsey Clark, the former attorney-general, Leeny Hind, who is a law professor at Rutgers University, and myself. We examined the orders, the regulations and all the laws pertaining to our trip and concluded that it was lawful. But essentially it is not a matter of law, it is a matter of politics. To demonstrate what I mean, let me tell you that, when I met with Dick Gregory, he informed me that the so-called travel ban, which is dated April 21, 1980, was originally dated April 19. That was the day Dick Gregory left for Iran. The administration did not want to prosecute a black in an election year, particularly one as prominent as Dick Gregory, so they moved the regulation back two days. Ultimately, what will happen to us will be a political decision, not a legal one.

What are you going to do next? What about the commission to investigate American crimes?

We would like to begin a public campaign to request that the government cooperating with an independent commission of private citizens, releases the documents on the history of American intervention in Iran. It would be the same kind of compilation as for the Pentagon papers, which were certainly helpful in informing the American public and ending the Vietnamese conflict. Journalist Bob Scheer, under the Freedom of Information Act, already requested those documents. They were denied to him. I think I will take up his case. But the only way we are going to achieve our goal is if there is some kind of public movement in the U.S. in that direction.

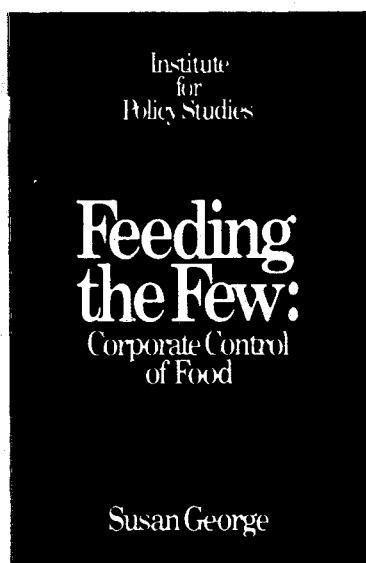
Margherita Pagni is an Italian journalist. In this week's In Depth column, Mark Hubert reports on the freeze and subsequent seizure of Iranian assets in U.S. banks. Page 16.

Hunger

it's not an act of God

There are people who would like you to believe that world hunger is a natural phenomenon... most of those people are in the boardrooms of agribusiness corporations.

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EUROPE



Liberation News Service

France's right wing moves to "Americanize" penal code

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

SIGN OF THE TIMES: THE FRENCH penal code is being overhauled to strengthen the prosecution and the police at the expense of the defense and of the independent investigating judge, the *juge d'instruction*. The declared purpose is to hustle authors of violent crimes more rapidly through the courts and off to prison for longer stays.

The new code, entitled "Security and Liberty" by its author, justice minister Alain Peyrefitte, was rammed through the National Assembly June 20 despite strenuous opposition from Socialists, jurists and labor leaders who call it a serious threat to the rights both of individuals and of social movements.

The project aroused such a storm of criticism that its passage at first seemed unlikely. The legal profession was up in arms. The whole range of magistrates', lawyers' and jurists' organizations flunked Peyrefitte for sloppy drafting, disregard for the rights of the accused and "demagoguery" in catering to mob attitudes and fears. Critics were particularly alarmed by measures designed to bypass and hamstring the *juge d'instruction*, the key figure in the French judicial system, whose job it is to try to get to the bottom of a case, independently of both defense and prosecution.

Hundreds of robed judges marched down the street in angry protest. But despite virtually unanimous opposition from the legal profession, organizations concerned with civil rights, labor, the left parties and prominent liberals, as well as initial sniping from Peyrefitte's fellow Gaullists (neo-Gaullist leader Jacques Chirac called the bill "unworthy" and said he would not vote for it), chances are that the Peyrefitte code will eventually be adopted. The right has the majority in parliament and, after a period of squabbling and amending, usually ends up giving the government what it wants.

Why does the government of President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who at times has invited street sweepers or intellectuals into the Elysee Palace to build up the liberal side of his image, suddenly want to change the penal code? Many see the main motivation as electoral. Giscard is up for election next year.

The bill aims at pleasing voters who think they are being engulfed in a crime wave due to "permissive" judges. Certainly, by American standards, the French crime wave is not even a ripple, but everything is relative, and in Paris a mugger may cause as much excitement as a mass murderer in Chicago. Govern-

ment-controlled television and the right-wing press can help convince good citizens that they are scared half to death.

A lot of French people own secondary residences, country houses that are left unoccupied except for occasional holiday weekends, making them a choice target for burglars. Some owners have illegally booby-trapped their houses to kill or maim intruders, becoming heroes of a new "self-defense" movement of property owners who take up arms and occasionally shoot dead a member of the family who got up in the night to go to the bathroom. Peyrefitte is clearly fishing for the nervous property owner vote.

Amateur psychologists see Peyrefitte's own insecurity at work in the repressive measures. Scandal watchers note that the new code will make it even easier than it is already for the government to cover up such a potentially embarrassing case as the currently pending investigation of former interior minister Prince Michel Poniatowski and the ever-mysterious murder a few years ago of Prince Jean de Broglie. Political activists and labor leaders see the main purpose as repression of strikes and other social protest movements.

False insecurity.

In Germany and Italy, terrorism has served to justify more repressive laws. France has no terrorism, but even so the citizenry "feels insecure," says Peyrefitte, and needs to be reassured. The feeling of insecurity may stem from many factors—the restructuring of the French economy to insert it into the world market, which means sweeping away countless jobs and small businesses; inflation; talk of war; more aggressive cultural modes; or for that matter, police brutality. The media focus on violent crime keeps the multiple sources of insecurity blurred in the minds of a certain part of the public, channeling their anxiety into a demand for the product offered them: police protection.

Opponents of the Peyrefitte code have stressed its backward spirit. Many have noted resemblance with laws enacted under the Vichy regime. Francois Mitterrand called Peyrefitte "more repressive than Napoleon."

But Peyrefitte himself claims to have been inspired by the latest American criminology, which he learned about on a trip to the U.S. last fall. After the new philosophers, the new right and the new cuisine, France now gets the new criminology—all owing much to the new world. Echoing American criminologist Norval Morris, Peyrefitte announced that rehabilitation of criminals has been discredited. The purpose of punishment is not to reform the criminal but to repair a social disruption. Punishment

should be swift and standard, meted out strictly according to the acts committed, without lingering over the personality, circumstances and motivations of the individual criminal. Some of Peyrefitte's statements closely paraphrased Senator Edward Kennedy.

The French and American judicial systems are so different in theory and in practice that what sounds fair and reasonable on one side of the Atlantic may sound outrageously repressive on the other. People arrested in the U.S. have recourse to *habeas corpus*; on the other hand, prison sentences are much, much longer in the U.S. than anywhere else in the Western world. In criminal cases, the adversary system as practiced in the U.S. favors defendants who can afford good attorneys over poor people who may never get to tell their side of the story, caught between a mediocre defense and a prosecution ever eager to score convictions.

In theory and often in practice, the job of the *juge d'instruction*, on the other hand, is to get to the bottom of a case, making sense not only of what happened but why. The system provides space for bringing out extenuating circumstances, often leading to the leniency Peyrefitte says he wants to combat.

Computer justice.

But the thrust of the Peyrefitte criminal code is to judge facts only, not persons, and to tie punishment as automatically as possible to the establishment of certain facts. To this end, the system would be Americanized by weakening the role of the *juge d'instruction*, making it possible for the prosecutor to go ahead on his own and bring a case before the equivalent of a grand jury. Peyrefitte dismissed the nearly unanimous outcry of the legal profession as mere "corporatist" self-interest.

The new code's aspiration toward automatism, toward computer justice, is indeed curiously in tune with a period marked by institutional appropriation of knowledge belonging to the intellectual professions (something that happened to craftsmen long ago), and the magistrates naturally want to defend the dignity of their role. But they are not alone in fearing the technological barbarism of a system that dishes out punishment without regard for the individual. In human affairs, the effacement of human judgment in favor of supposedly automatic processes is all too often a way of making a particular power relationship look neutral and natural.

Jurists also complained that the bill was sloppy and often so vague as to be inapplicable, obviously written by someone with no practical experience. Peyrefitte bent with the storm, welcoming

numerous amendments from the right majority. These were likely to leave intact what labor people saw as the government's central purpose, that is, to intimidate and repress social movements.

Whatever "attempted threat to persons or property" may turn out to be, it seems significant that the new crime is aggravated if committed during "intrusion in a work place" or "at a meeting." These and other provisions seem designed, not to protect little old ladies from purse snatchers, but rather to facilitate the arrest, conviction and lengthy imprisonment of workers who take part in the kind of strike with occupation of the premises that is frequent in France as employees fight to keep their plants from being shut down.

Another new law in the code would send people to jail for attempting in any way to disturb railroad traffic. This measure threatens not only strikers, but also passengers who (as has happened recently) block the rails to protest against termination of train service to their towns—actions that may multiply as France follows the American lead in dismantling unprofitable passenger service.

The code's many provisions to criminalize and repress disturbances associated with social protest movements are not balanced by measures to combat "white collar crime," left leaders point out.

Labor leader Edmond Maire says that the Peyrefitte code fits into a context in which bosses are using a new arsenal of union-busting devices such as suing unions for production losses during strikes, and steel industry management, faced with worker unrest due to shutdowns, has been demanding an end to "violence in the plants." The unions are currently losing their battle against another government bill banning strikes in nuclear plants on security grounds.

The Socialist Party used every parliamentary device it could think of to stall passage of the code, and the Communist Party joined in the obstruction. In mid-June, debate on "Security and Liberty" was interrupted by a bizarre incident, when one of Peyrefitte's colleagues in the cabinet, Jacques Dominati, secretary in charge of repatriated French settlers from Algeria, attended ceremonies honoring right-wing terrorist commando leader Lieutenant Roger Degueudre, executed in 1962, whose assassination victims very nearly included De Gaulle himself. Indignant Gaullists stalked out of the assembly, demanding Dominati's dismissal. "But what about 'Security and Liberty'?" a Justice official asked plaintively. De Gaulle's old justice min-



Alain Peyrefitte

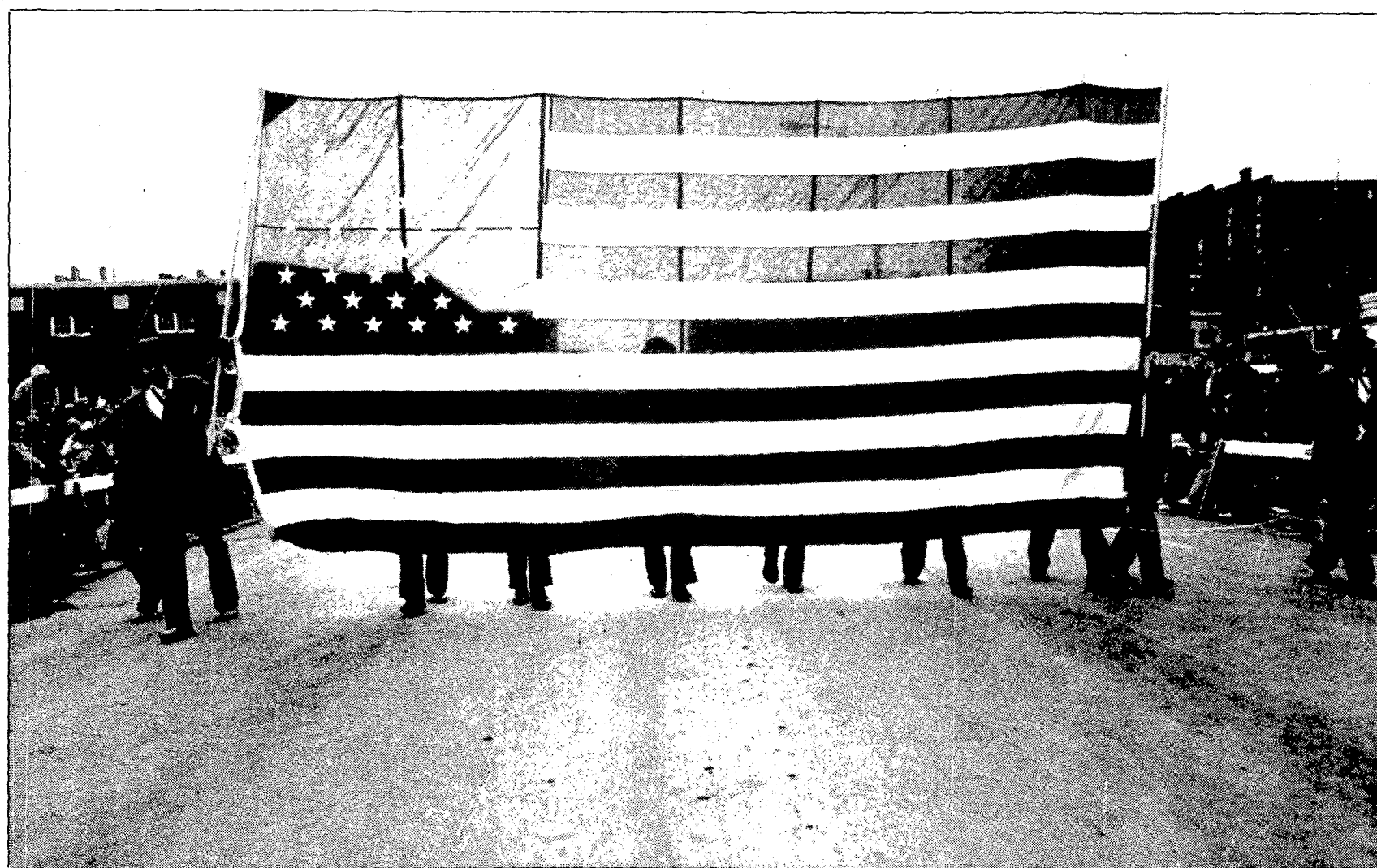
ister Jean Foyer thundered back, "We don't give a damn about the Peyrefitte project! We're on strike!"

The champions of law and order have their little differences. But Gaullists soon were back and calling for cloture to pass the bill without further debate—not before adding a further repressive measure legalizing police identity checks of anyone, anywhere, any time. The bill goes to the senate next fall.

One law professor commented that every time the French right "Americanizes" French institutions, it selects only features that strengthen the executive. Thus the Fifth Republic one-sidedly strengthened the presidency, but left the National Assembly far weaker than the U.S. Congress. "And the Peyrefitte code weakens the *juge d'instruction* to the benefit of the state prosecutor—again the executive—without giving the defense the safeguards it has in the Anglo-Saxon system," he added.



INDEPENDENCE DAY



PHOTOS BY LIONEL DELEVINGNE

ELISABETH LASCH

An ecstatic but highly organized crowd files down Main Street in some small Pennsylvania, New York or Massachusetts town. Most patriots wear a uniform—of the Army, the Navy, the police, the Girl Scouts or even the KKK—in honor of Flag Day, Memorial Day, Veterans' Day, Independence Day or another national holiday.

Through foreign eyes, photographer Lionel Delevingne, a Parisian now living in Northampton, Mass., sees such parades as an unusually regimented mode of expressing one's love for one's country. Unlike most French patriots, who "contest and love" their country, Delevingne said to *IN THESE TIMES*, Americans remain "uncritically optimistic" about their flag—especially the military past it symbolizes. According to Delevingne, these militant patriots display "more than emotion"; they display belief in the authoritarian aspects of the American past and present.



LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

COMMUNISM STINKS

JEAN FRANCO'S ARTICLE "MEMOIRS of Underdevelopment" (*ITT*, June 4) regarding the life and times of the late Alejo Carpentier was excellent. However...

The dearth of books in Cuba does not stem from "the blockade of Cuba by North America and the other Latin American states," as Franco asserts, but from the repressive policies of the communist regime in Cuba.

Cuba always had relations with Mexico and Spain, two countries where anyone can buy any kind of books, including American books. The problem is that if one is caught with, let's say, Milton Friedman's books in one's bookshelves in Havana, more likely than not this would raise suspicions in the neolithic minds of orthodox Marxists, party dogmatists, G-2 and KGB agents.

"The richness and variety of city life diminished," as Franco goes on to say, not because of the blockade—although this half-assed American policy has done more harm to the average people of Cuba than to the regime—but because of the stupidity and incompetence of the same neolithic minds I referred to above.

I do not know why American leftist writers, who go through so much pain and agony to survive in this plastic wilderness, stop one step short from the truth when it comes to communism. The truth is that Communism stinks! Be it Cuban, Russian, Chinese or Kampuchean, communism is a dead-end street.

—Art Liebrez
Corte Madera, Calif.

WOMEN'S MUSIC

THE OMISSION OF WOMEN'S MUSIC and a company such as Olivia Records was striking in the article by Bruce Dancis, "Artistic control and records too" (*ITT*, June 4). It would seem that the author is committed to ending sexism in the music industry on paper only: it is one thing to write that record companies should not be sexist but it is another thing entirely to take the time to discover and research women's music and its corresponding women-oriented music industry.

—Nancy Krieger
Cambridge, Mass.

LEBANESE CHRISTIANS

RICHARD KORIS PREFERS TO OVERLOOK that the article on Raymond Edde (*ITT*, May 28) was an interview. The opinions and assertions therein were all Edde's. And the adjectives "vile, depraved" are added by Koris himself.

Edde is a very prominent Lebanese Christian who was the left's favored candidate over the current president, Sarkis. The point of interviewing him was to show the existence of a current of Christian opinion in Lebanon differing from the right forces of Chamoun and Gemayel, which have often been identified with the Lebanese Christian community as a whole. The U.S. press has generally ignored Edde, no doubt to avoid being flooded with abuse, of which Koris' letter provides a sample.

As to the substance of the interview, I will say only that it is distorted rather than refuted by Koris' polemic.

—Diana Johnstone
Paris, France

A BRONX BOO

IVERY MUCH WISH TO DISASSOCIATE myself from the point of view expressed by Leonard Quart in his article that was printed with my pictures of the South Bronx (*ITT*, March 26). The juxtaposition might imply agreement or similarity. In fact, I feel his article does serious disservice to the people living in the ravished areas of the Bronx. In brief, here are my problems with his article: In typical liberal fashion, other people's suffering becomes an excuse to be nostalgic about one's own roots. The article perpetuates racial stereotypes and ends up blaming the victims for their victimization. Notice the balance between the negative and positive descriptions of the people, and notice how there is no mention of the politicians, bankers, landlords and lawyers whose greed led to this destruction. The article is an affront to the generosity of the people who allowed me to take their pictures.

—Mel Rosenthal
New York

HAZARDOUS WASTE REVISITED

IWANT TO CORRECT ONE IMPORTANT misstatement of the law in an otherwise thoughtful and informative article by Marchant Wentworth on the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency's new regulations on hazardous wastes (*ITT*, May 21). Wentworth incorrectly suggests that the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act is directed only at prospective dump sites. This is not the case. Section 7003 of the Act permits EPA to bring legal action to halt imminent hazards even in the absence of regulations.

This section of the statute has permitted EPA to act forcefully where past dumping has created threats of great harm to the public. In one such case in Connecticut, for example, *U.S. v. Solvents Recovery Services, et al* H79-704

(D. Conn.), EPA has moved to require alleged polluters to clean up contaminated ground water in the state's third largest aquifer. Thus EPA does have statutory authority to go after those who contaminate our environment with hazardous wastes and should be encouraged to use that authority.

—Daniel Millstone
Litigation Director
Connecticut Fund for the Environment

SERIOUS ERROR

YOU MADE A SERIOUS ERROR AND I would like a correction published. In my letter (*ITT*, June 4), you had me say, "In a recent poll commissioned by the Public Opinion Research Institute, 5 percent of Israeli..." The statistic I sent you was 56 percent. I was trying to show how large, not how small, the opposition is.

—Maksha Steir-Cornio
Middle East Program, American Friends
Service Committee

CUBAN GAYS

ITHOUGHT THE LATENESS, AND RATHER theoretical treatment when it came, in covering the Cuban refugee incidents skirted many issues which, while uncomfortable for the left, must be faced squarely. One of these, perhaps the greatest of them, is the make-up of the refugees. Who are they, really? Disaffected former bourgeoisie? Old people? The religious? Just criminals? If criminals, of what kind? Why can't we have some interviews of some of these people, instead of leaving them to PBS to interview?

As a gay man, I'm most upset by the probability discussed in Boston's *Gay Community News* that homosexuals are being scapegoated in Cuba. If so, why—really?

That there are those who think this is the case is further indicated by the organization of gay sponsors for gay Cubans who've come to the U.S., as reported in a piece from a Minnesota gay paper, *GLC Voice*. This bears some investigation and comment, I should think, in such a journal as *ITT*.

I also want here to second Matthew E. Moore's sense of outrage over Adam Nussenbaum's review of *The Trials of Alger Hiss* that implied that information on Chambers' homosexual activities should have been used against him. It's a despicable implication, and I question the motives of filmmaker John Lowenthal in pursuing the matter of Chambers' homosexuality at all. Alger Hiss, to his credit, shows disapproval of the idea of using Chambers' behavior against him. I suggest both Lowenthal and Nussenbaum examine themselves for an attitude that debases socialism, rendering it mere red fascism. The attitude is called "homophobia."

—Ray Olson
St. Paul, Minn.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

Head of Guyana left opposition assassinated

Walter Rodney, the Guyanese scholar/activist, is dead, the victim of a political assassination almost certainly carried out by Guyana's ruling party. Probably best known for his book, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Rodney was a leader of the Working Peoples Alliance (WPA) in Guyana. It was his activities in the WPA that cost Rodney his life.



In Guyana, the ruling party, the Peoples National Congress (PNC)—headed by Forbes Burnham—has always been racially based in the country's largely urban, Afro-Guyanese population. But with mounting corruption, mismanagement and the stifling of democracy, the party has lost its hold over that constituency and has seen race as a mobilizing tool decline in power. Walter Rodney and the WPA, with well-attended political rallies and marches throughout the country, effectively tapped into these erstwhile PNC supporters.

With its anti-imperialist and socialist politics, the WPA, in alliance with Dr. Cheddi Jagan's Peoples Progressive Party (PPP), represented a viable alternative government that could command widespread support. It was this political threat—and, of course, this political hope—that provoked Walter Rodney's murder. His funeral procession, marching from the country to the city, attracted some 35,000 people, drawn almost equally from the Indo-Guyanese and Afro-Guyanese populations.

The actual assassination occurred when Walter and his brother were testing what they thought was a walkie-talkie but in fact was a bomb detonated by remote control. Evidence that the government was involved is circumstantial but, for people who know Guyana, convincing.

Rodney is survived by his wife Pat and three children. His death is the latest in a series of assassinations of WPA members. For those wishing to contribute funds to families of the victims, contact the Walter Rodney Bereaved Families Fund, c/o the Committee for Freedom and Human Rights in Guyana, P.O. Box 1718, Hyattsville, MD 20788.

—Jay R. Mandle and Joan D. Mandle

Nicole Hollander

From the "politics make strange bedfellows" department: According to a 1979 *Chicago Tribune* report, COYOTE is undertaking a new kind of ERA research in unratified states. Members of the California-based prostitute organization say they will kiss and tell on anti-ERA legislators with interesting or unusual proclivities.



Reprinted from Nicole Hollander, *Ma, Can I Be a Feminist and Still Like Men?* (St. Martin's, \$3.95) by special arrangement with St. Martin's Press, 175 Fifth Ave., NYC 10010.

PERSPECTIVES

Corporate power brings disastrous 'lean years'

By Peter Kornbluh

"THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPING AND DISTRIBUTING energy, minerals, food, water and human energy," writes Richard J. Barnet, "is substantially guided by global corporations..." In his newest book, *The Lean Years: Politics in the Age of Scarcity*, Barnet explains what the private corporate control over the world's five critical resource systems has meant for the public at large. Barnet examines the political and economic structures that have produced scarcity for the many and prosperity for the few. A co-founder and senior fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., Barnet has identified the deference of government policy makers to modern profit-oriented corporate planners as the root of increasing scarcity. Until public mechanisms for the exercise of local community control over the development and distribution of resources are created, and until new political institutions are built that recognize that the issue of resources is central to resolving both national and international conflict, the coming lean years will bring unprecedented human misery and exacerbate the tensions that may produce a final world war.

There is a common assumption that there is a natural scarcity of world resources, particularly energy. Yet you begin THE LEAN YEARS by debunking the "myth of scarcity." What accounts for the shortages of energy and other important resources in the world?

Scarcity is primarily a political and economic concept, not a consequence of the iron laws of nature. In the case of oil, for example, there is clearly enough. There are probably about six trillion barrels of oil still around, an enormous amount. But there will be actual physical scarcity of oil in the 1980s because of the competition of different users.

Are you implying that the energy crisis is contrived rather than real?

There is both a contrived crisis and a real crisis. The real crisis didn't have to happen, but because of decisions already taken it has happened. The oil companies are directly responsible for the planning decisions that got us into our great dependence on Middle East oil. They have not done what they could have done or should have done to develop alternative oil sources or alternative energy.

What are some of the reasons?

The oil corporations want to maintain their monopoly over the supply of oil and monopolize alternative energy development as well to assure their future profits. In the midst of the oil crisis, for example, they have maintained tight control over the supply of oil by cutting back on production, and by diverting supplies to places where they could get double the price on the spot market. They see themselves primarily as investment banks, not as energy agencies, so that where it is profitable to invest in non-energy industries they do so. A good part of their investments do not increase the supply of energy. The energy investment that they talk about in their ads often involves neither new drilling nor exploration.

Could you describe further how the oil companies are putting themselves in the position to control the development of alternative energy sources, and what the consequences will be for the public?

They are buying up the alternative sources to control the pace of development and to control the next generation

of resources as they control this one. The obvious problem is that they are still oil companies, and that the profits of alternative energy development are directly tied to the price of oil. The pace of development, if they are in control of that development, will be determined by the oil market, which they themselves largely control. This illustrates the more general point that scarcity is a consequence of economic and political institutions. We have developed a system where large companies are the energy planners by default and where government subsidies support these large, supposedly private, planning institutions. They are private, of course, in their ownership, but they are not private in their function or their consequences.

For these reasons I suggest not only divestiture, but also positive government policies that would encourage alternative control of new sources of energy. This is

Scarcity is not a law of nature. It's a political concept. There is enough food, oil, land, water. The question is: who controls it?

critical if we are going to solve the number one national security problem in the country: the dependence on Middle East oil. The vulnerability that this has caused has brought about a tremendous new burst of militarism in the U.S. Two presidents now have threatened to go to war in the Middle East.

In THE LEAN YEARS you discuss several other resource systems besides energy: food, non-fuel minerals, water, and human labor. In your treatment of food systems you write that "malnutrition is the hidden holocaust of our day." What do you see as the causes of world hunger?

As I point out in the book, the world has enough food to feed itself. But food has become a highly monopolized internationally traded commodity. You have the tremendous rise in the grain trade sponsored by the American government through the Food for Peace program. Grain is now concentrated in five family corporations—Cargill, Continental, Louis Dreyfus, Bunge and Andre—which control about 40 percent of the grain trade. So many countries that used to be self-sufficient in agriculture have now become increasingly dependent on this

grain for two reasons: first, they got hooked on it when grain was subsidized, when the U.S. was subsidizing grain imports to poorer countries in order to expand the market and also subsidize our farmers. Second, more and more land is going out of production as a result of the mechanization of agriculture.

You see this particularly in Pakistan and parts of Latin America where land once used for subsistence farming goes into production of export crops owned by multinational corporations, or is farmed in joint ventures with local land owners. In the latter case, the MNCs usually supply the capital, the fertilizer and the agricultural technology. This, of course, has displaced millions of people from the land. They go to the cities and are pushed into a money economy. But they have no money because they have no job. And because they have no money, they can't eat.

Hunger, then, is inextricably tied to the world's unemployment crisis. You have called this crisis "the time bomb of the '80s."

Yes. The global unemployment crisis is manifested by the growing percentage of the world's population that is irrelevant to the world's productive processes, either as producers or consumers.

It is getting worse for several reasons. First, a lot of the mechanisms that have disguised this reality are no longer going to function. In the coming lean years disguised employment and marginal employment will be more difficult. Another trend in the industrialized countries is the increase in automation that is now cutting into employment of educated workers. This trend is affecting not only the production line worker but also bank clerks, even bank officials, and other white collar jobs in law, medicine, etc. The middle class, through the development of the microprocessor and other technological developments, are going to feel the effects of this fairly soon.

In the conclusion of your book you write that "the bedrock principle for evolving a survival strategy is that every person born has political and economic rights and has a vested right to a decent minimal share of world resources by virtue of being born."

The economy has to be built for people, that means for everybody. It doesn't seem like a radical idea, but obviously it is the opposite of conventional economic thinking today, which talks in terms of how much unemployment the society can afford. These "planners" see an abstraction called the economy that will function if only 6 percent or 7 percent—and that's millions of people—are out of work. We have to start in a more fundamental way. The goal must be that the participation of people is critical for solving any of these problems.

You have stated that our choices are "more democracy or much less" for dealing with these problems in the future.

Yes. It gets to the basic philosophical point. It is clear that these major resource systems that we are talking about are the most monopolized and controlled sectors of the economy. That is where the major corporate power is. They are the forces that have been able to launch an ideological campaign against the notion of government when they have, in fact, preempted the role of government as public planners, even though they are private organizations.

Part of the reason government is in such bad repute is that it is so antiquated. But it has been rendered antiquated, impractical and clumsy very largely by the changes that have taken place in the corporate economy.

What kind of institutions are you referring to?

To a great extent they are organizations that allow much greater authority for local communities, the places where people live, to do planning on resources and to have control over resources. A national policy should be formulated that implements and protects the development of democratic planning institutions at a local level.

Do you suggest nationalization of major resource industries, such as oil?

In some cases. I prefer the term commun-

ity control, because in many cases we may be talking about a municipal or regional ownership and control rather than the development of a huge national bureaucracy. I do think, however, that there needs to be a national energy company.

To take over the oil companies is a monumental task, not only politically but structurally as well. Politically, it seems to me, there are specific things one can do to develop the planning power and resources in the hands of people where they live. That would be more feasible and would have more practical consequences than traditional nationalization. British petroleum is nationalized but that hasn't changed much. So I think it is more useful to talk about specific mechanisms of public accountability and public control over these corporations, rather than an abstract concept of nationalization.



Richard Barnet.

How would public investment work under local community control?

There ought to be a national investment authority made up of various representatives of different regions and localities, particularly those that have different interests and problems, so that we do not have a situation where some parts of the country profit enormously from the energy situation while others face bankruptcy. Such a body would provide for investment capital and also provide a national mechanism for sharing in developing a national energy plan.

Do you feel that governments will make these changes and respond to basic human needs under the capitalist system?

No, not as it has developed. We are talking about some major changes that are long overdue in the system, changes such as much greater public control over resources, much greater participation of workers in decisions of production, and a much different government policy that encourages the refitting of our industrial base.

We are talking about a mixed economy in which the government and the corporations are very much involved together and where the mix must be radically changed in a way that the power of the private institutions is greatly cut back and made considerably more accountable to the public.

Institutions must be created to allow for the development of public policy on these issues. Above all, I think, it means a radical change in the nature of the political parties. If we get a political party that sets these resource issues where they belong, at the center of the political debate, we may have a chance. Both domestic and foreign policy issues fundamentally revolve around the issues of resource control.

The real debate, which has not yet happened, is how military power can possibly solve our economic problems. In fact it can't. To the contrary, we are chewing up enormous resources for an instrument that does not bring us power, that in fact is contributing to the deterioration of the real basis of power in this society which is its economic and social health. It is clear that the types of public institutions we have been discussing have to be created. I am optimistic that they can be created and that they will be created out of experiments already in place.

IN DEPTH

FEDERAL RESERVE
NOTE UNITED STATESTHIS NOTE IS LEGAL TENDER
FOR ALL DEBTS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

Chase helped, U.S. hurt by Iranian fund freeze

WASHINGTON

IT HAS BEEN WIDELY KNOWN FOR SOME TIME THAT DAVID Rockefeller played a crucial role in getting the deposed Shah of Iran into this country. The Shah's presence in the U.S. precipitated the hostage crisis in Tehran, which in turn prompted the U.S. government to freeze all Iranian deposits in American banks. Because Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan bank was the major depository of Iranian oil money under the Shah, and because Chase was losing those deposits under the Ayatollah, many have speculated that Rockefeller was financially motivated in his efforts to get the Shah into the U.S.

Those suspicions are strongly corroborated by the chain of events surrounding our government's freezing of Iranian assets and the subsequent seizure of those assets by American banks—events that suggest that Chase Manhattan and other U.S. banks dictated American policy with respect to Iranian assets.

At the center of the controversy over the asset freeze and seizure is a \$500 million loan to the Imperial Government of Iran, negotiated in January 1977. Chase was both the lead manager for the syndicate of 11 banks that extended the loan and the agent for those banks. An interest payment of more than \$4 million was due on this loan by 10 a.m. Nov. 15, 1979, at Chase's New York office.

On Nov. 5, the day after the hostages were taken in Tehran, the central bank of Iran dispatched a business-as-usual Telex message to New York authorizing a transfer of the \$4 million from its Chase accounts. On Nov. 14, President Carter froze all Iranian deposits in American banks. On Nov. 15, using the freeze as the excuse, Chase announced that it could not comply with the Iranian request to transfer the amount. Now the loan was in default, and Chase used the frozen assets to "offset" the loan.

Chase could have easily avoided calling the \$500 million loan in default. Arrangements could have been made so that interest payments were made from new oil revenues, rather than from transfers from frozen bank accounts; interest payments could have been funneled through non-American banks; or they could have been paid in non-dollar currencies. Indeed, because of these readily available

alternatives, every other Iranian loan has continued to be serviced since the asset freeze on Nov. 14.

But Chase was not interested in avoiding a default, which would give the bank the excuse it needed to confiscate frozen Iranian assets through the right of offset. In fact, for some time Chase had been searching for ways to call Iranian loans in default. Early in 1979, for example, after the Shah had fallen, Chase attempted to convince a syndicate of banks to call in default a \$120 million loan to the Industrial Credit Bank of Iran (under an "adverse material change" clause in the loan contract). Though a majority of the syndicate refused to go along with that, Chase did not give up. The hostage crisis provided Chase with a new opportunity.

Freeze and seize.

The timing of the freeze order was crucial for Chase. If the freeze had come much in advance of the Nov. 15 payment deadline, Iran would have had time to arrange alternate means of payment. The chronology of events makes it appear as though the freeze of Iranian assets was solely in response to Iranian threats to withdraw its deposits from American banks. In fact, Chase found the Nov. 14 Iranian threat a beautiful coincidence, coming as it did a day before the interest was due.

The Treasury seemed to have little grasp of the magnitude of the problem it was dealing with when it froze all Iranian assets in the U.S. In fact, the White House and the Treasury Department admitted on Nov. 14, the day of the freeze order, that they had no idea how many Iranian assets were in the U.S. at the time.

Nevertheless, Secretary of the Treasury

William Miller felt confident in asserting that the freeze was necessary to counter an "unusual and extraordinary threat to the...economy of the United States." It is not clear why the Treasury acted so rashly, unless it was the banks who were setting the pace in the first place.

In any case, the Treasury found itself following the banks' lead several times over the ensuing week. The original Treasury regulations, which became effective at 8:10 a.m. on Nov. 14, did not allow banks to use frozen assets to offset loans. Yet the syndicate for the \$500 million showed no intention of obeying those regulations. Four American banks in the syndicate, including Chase Manhattan, used the right of offset in the first two days following the freeze order.

The Treasury acted quickly to sanction the banks' actions. By 10:40 a.m. Nov. 15, the Treasury had issued amended regulations that retroactively permitted banks to use frozen assets to offset outstanding loans to Iran. Those regulations became public when published in the *Federal Register* on Nov. 16. The precise time at which each of the four banks actually offset is not known, but they all acted before the regulations had become public, and at least one—Citibank—acted before the morning of the 15th when the regulations were actually issued.

Chase and the other banks in the syndicate jumped the gun in another way. Banks usually have no right of offset until the loan in question is in default. Technically, the \$500 million loan in question was not in default until a majority of banks in the syndicate voted to call default. Chase has admitted that such majority support was not forthcoming until Nov. 19. Nevertheless, the four banks mentioned above offset on either Nov. 14 or 15.

Most loans to a government and its publicly-supported entities contain cross-default clauses, under which a default on one loan is a basis on which the others may be called in default as well. Such was the case with the \$500 million loan to the government of Iran: its default threatened a large number of other loans. Chase was the manager and agent for many of the syndicates for these other loans. Even though no other interest payments were overdue—and even though Chase did not attempt to obtain majority support from the other banks in the syndicate—Chase proceeded to use frozen Iranian assets to offset its participation in all of these other loans.

To do that, Chase had to get around several roadblocks. First, the loans in question were not all booked from the same branch of Chase, and not all the branches had enough Iranian deposits to offset their particular loans. The total of outstanding loans from all of Chase's branches on Nov. 14, for example, was some \$366 million—yet Chase had only \$39 million of Iranian deposits in its New York branch. So Chase simply consolidated all its loans to Iran extant on Nov. 14 and used Iranian assets in its foreign branches to offset them.

Again, the Treasury acted quickly to permit Chase's actions. The Nov. 15 amendments to the regulations retroactively permitted U.S. banks to assign outstanding loans to any of their foreign branches for the purposes of offset.

Sanctions against Iran.

In announcing the asset freeze on Nov. 14, Treasury Secretary Miller discounted the fears of foreign investors who now realized that their own deposits in American banks were no longer sacrosanct. Miller argued that the freeze should have "no effect" on the money markets; indeed, he added, the action should not "create any kinds of disruptions at all." These statements reinforce the conviction that the Treasury had little idea of the magnitude of the issues involved. In fact, the freeze was very disruptive to the money markets, leaving scars that have far outweighed the inconvenience caused Iran.

On the whole, Iran has had little difficulty in securing sufficient credit to conduct trade with other nations. Iran's immediate response to the freeze order was to shift its business to non-American banks. Credit was easily obtainable at foreign banks either in dollars or other

currencies. And oil revenues promised a continuing and substantial cash flow, a safety net to fall back upon in the event sufficient credit was not forthcoming. Indeed, despite the asset freeze and the trade embargo, U.S. trade with Iran in January of this year was worth 70 percent more than it was in January of 1979!

When the long-awaited and much-heralded support for the U.S. financial sanctions came last month from Japan and the Common Market, Iran had already discovered the numerous ways to circumvent them. Switzerland is not part of the Common Market agreement, and its banks, notorious for keeping politics and money separate, continued to extend large volumes of credit to Iran. Sweden opposes the sanctions on principle, and its banks are also cooperating with Iran. Even the Bank of India has made its Bahrain branch available to the Iranians.

The trade embargoes, adopted first by the U.S. and more recently by Japan and the Common Market, have also been fairly ineffective. Turkey, Pakistan, and India, all with land routes to Iran, are serving as trans-shipment points for otherwise embargoed imports. Dubai has emerged as the leading Gulf state for re-exporting goods to Iran. Trade figures for 1979 reveal that Dubai's re-exports to Iran in that year were double those of 1978. Furthermore, trade is flourishing with Eastern European nations and the Soviet Union, who have emerged as willing sources of vitally needed technology and spare parts for Iranian machinery.

Iran has also had little difficulty in locating markets for export of its oil—the primary source of its income. Immediately after the Common Market nations and Japan joined with the U.S. in boycotting Iranian oil, Iran announced a supply agreement with Romania. East Germany, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia are negotiating similar agreements. In addition, Turkey, Pakistan and India are demanding more oil in return for serving as intermediaries in the trans-shipment of embargoed goods.

The demand for oil has allowed Iran to replenish its foreign bank reserves. The central bank of Iran announced earlier this year that Iran's reserves unaffected by the U.S. freeze amounted to \$7 billion and were increasing at the rate of some \$1 billion per month.

Thus, despite administration and press reports to the contrary, the economic and financial sanctions imposed on Iran have had little more than symbolic effect. Those sanctions have caused more serious harm to the domestic money markets than to Iran.

Many American banks have been hurt, for example, because they did not have sufficient Iranian deposits to offset against outstanding loans. According to Keefe, Bruyette and Woods, the New York-based securities analyst, as many as nine American banks are net lenders to Iran, with net exposures ranging as high as \$75 million. The asset freeze thus split American banks between the few with excess frozen assets and those who were net lenders.

But American banks have been harmed in an even more enduring way by the fear that foreign investors now have about the safety of their deposits in American banks. The historical attractiveness of the dollar as an investment vehicle, for OPEC investors in particular, arose from the dollar's ostensible immunity from such actions as a government freeze.

A recent poll of 172 banks from 21 nations, revealed that 78 percent predict a substantial transfer of Eurodollar deposits out of U.S. banks. And 68 percent predict a significant switch from the dollar to other currencies and into gold and silver as a result of the asset freeze.

The switch away from American money markets and the dollar will lead to higher domestic interest rates and a declining dollar abroad. These will translate into higher costs for imported goods and higher inflation rates. The American economy will be paying for many years the costs of Chase's self-interest. ■

Mark Hulbert is researching "Banks and Public Policy" on a grant from the National Taxpayers Legal Fund.

INPRINT

Poetry and quilts show women's art as work

In Her Own Image: Women Working in the Arts
 Edited by Elaine Hedges and Ingrid Wendt
 The Feminist Press and McGraw Hill, Box 334, Old Westbury, NY 11568
 \$16.95 cloth, \$6.25 paper

By Jane Marcus

The Feminist Press, now celebrating its tenth anniversary, has operated from the beginning on the principle that feminism is a political movement for social change. They have published an impressive series of books that keep this notion alive, in a sea of "women's books" that stress the personal and individual over the communal and cooperative struggle.

In Her Own Image is about "women working in the arts," maintaining a firm stance on the barricades that art is work. The title is a play on the patriarchal myth of God creating Adam in his own image.

There is no elitist separation of the arts nor any ranking of quilt-making as a lesser form than poetry. In fact it does poetry a lot of good to place it next to studies of Indian pottery. Adrienne Rich, Muriel Rukeyser, Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Emily Dickinson only benefit by comparison with Betye Saar's brilliant revolutionary painting "The Liberation of Aunt Jemima," the songs of Holly Near and Bernice Reagon on Black Music and the Wall of Respect for Women on the Lower East Side of New York.

The selections are arranged in four sections, Household Work and Women's Art; Obstacles and Challenges; Definitions and Discoveries; Women's Art and Social Change. The artists come from diverse class, ethnic, racial and national backgrounds.

"So much of women's work is done only to be undone," Hedges and Wendt write, "the food cooked in order to be eaten, the dishes washed so they may be used again, surfaces cleaned only to accumulate more dust."

"One impulse behind much art is surely to outwit time and disrepair, to make the transient permanent, to capture the fleeting moment and memorialize it. In women's art, given the nature of their domestic work, this impulse may be especially strong."

Several extraordinary quilts are pictured here and matched by Alice Walker's already classic story "Everyday Use," guaranteed to make you weep no matter how often you read it. In a poor, rural, black "matriarchal" family, all the tensions of mother/daughter relationships entangle our emotions and explode. Dee, the undutiful daughter, newly educated, aware of her cultural heritage and having changed her name to Wangero, descends on her mother and her homely, burned sister, Maggie. She gobbles down soul food and grabs the butter dish and the churn.

She demands Grandma Dee's quilts, lecturing her mother and

Men may assume that it was talent that failed them—women can never be so sure.

Maggie on how they ought to be hung and not subjected to everyday use. Wangero thinks Maggie too "backward" to appreciate the priceless quilts. But their mother remembers Dee's refusal to take one away to college. In the end she snatches them from Dee and dumps them in Maggie's lap. Alice Walker preserves women's culture, the relation between work and art, as exquisitely, as powerfully, as Grandma Dee's quilts.

The poems, from Betham Auerbach's "The Search for the Perfect Rye Bread" to Kathleen Fraser's "Poem in Which My Legs Are Accepted," illustrate the themes of the book. Judy Chicago's controversial *Dinner Party Project*, illustrating the lives of women artists on ceramic plates, is here with the German painter Paula Modersohn-Becker's brilliant self-portrait. Martha Graham's dances are celebrated along with Jade Snow

Wong's moving "Fifth Chinese Daughter: Autobiography and Pottery." Kathe Kollwitz's revolutionary graphics are included with letters showing her commitment to art of and for the people.

I particularly like Hortense Calisher's "The Rabbi's Daughter." Motherhood and moving have separated Calisher's Eleanor from her piano. "Morning and evening she would edge past it, with the gummy dishes and the clean. Immobile, in its cage, it faced her, a great dark harp lying on its side."

Eleanor's thoughts match our own, on women working in the arts, against the insistent claims of family responsibilities: "So many variants of the same theme, she thought, so many of them—the shriveled, talented women. Distance has nothing to do with it; be honest—they are everywhere. Fifty-seventh Street is full of them. The women who once were 'at the League,' who



Betye Saar's mixed media: *The Liberation of Aunt Jemima*.

cannot keep themselves from hanging the paintings, the promising *juvenalia*, on their walls, but who flinch, deprecating, when one notices...

"She could still hear the light insistent note of the A, thrumming for herself and for all the other girls. A man, she thought jealously, can be reasonably certain it was his talent that failed him, but the women, for whom

there are still so many excuses, can never be so sure."

Eleanor's hands will both play the piano and care for her child. Adrienne Rich's poem, which ends this abundant and beautifully organized volume, promises more: "such hands might carry out an unavoidable violence/with such restraint, with such a grasp/of the range and limits of violence/that violence ever after would be obsolete."

There are five pages of acknowledgements, stressing the way the Feminist Press works as a publishing house, with advisory committees of scholars, teachers, artists and networks of women all over the country. Florence Howe and her board have consistently done splendid work on teaching aids, non-sexist children's books, reprints of the work of black and working-class women, and the 12 books in this series on "Women's Lives, Women's Work."

These include *Las Mujeres: Conversations from an Hispanic Community*, Alice Kessler-Harris' *Women Have Always Worked*, a history of women and the teaching profession, Dorothy Sterling's *Black Foremothers*, books on sex-roles, the family and sports. Also of particular importance are *The Maimie Papers*, the letters of a Jewish prostitute, and *I Love Myself When I Am Laughing*, a Zora Neale Hurston reader, edited by Alice Walker. The Feminist Press works closely with its sister presses in England, Virago and the Women's Press.

Jane Marcus is a Virginia Woolf scholar.

Message of '60s was trivialized by the media-movement dance



The only new news is old news: finding a frame for SDS, the media cut local roots and made new left outsiders.

The Whole World Is Watching: Mass Media in the Making & Unmaking of the New Left
 By Todd Gitlin
 University of California Press, \$12.95

By Gaye Tuchman

Todd Gitlin tells us here with careful scholarship, penetrating insights and reflective concern how *The New York Times* and CBS reported on Students for a Democratic Society, and how their choices mattered for the development of the '60s movement and the containment of serious political change. Gitlin adds that the news conventions adapted from crime-reporting for SDS and the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee formed the basis for media treatment of subsequent social movements.

President of SDS from June 1963 to June 1964, Gitlin is driven by a desire to understand how a political movement with a broad and deep indictment of American capitalism became transformed into an anti-war, seemingly one-issue group that eventually sought the spotlight, and spawned the Weathermen and the Yippies. Gitlin studies news treatments of SDS to learn how to prevent the media from again trivializing radical politics.

He argues that the news media severed the ties between left activities and analyses of local conditions, and so encouraged movement members who want-

Continued on page 18.



Biblican and local scenes mix in an 1895 Georgia quilt.

Strong watched, world changed

I CHANGE WORLDS

By Anna Louise Strong
Seal Press, \$7.95 paper

By Peggy Dennis

From age 36 in 1921 until her death at age 84 in 1970, Anna Louise Strong was, in her words, "a traveller, roving to revolutions." With Moscow as her home base, her reporter's beat covered all of the Soviet Union and China which she travelled again and again.

At the moment she took that first change-world step, Strong told a friend, "I have to do what I want to do." The precise placement of the words *have* and *want* in that exact sequence, rather than in the customary reverse order, became the quintessence of Strong's life.

She had no organizational affiliations or obligations. Hers was an individual, emotional commitment to socialism. Behind the stance of claimed ignorance of ideology or theory,

We communist teenagers were titillated by the woman Strong was as much as by her tales of socialism in far-off lands.

however, her articles and books serve the Soviet and Chinese leaderships well, because she adopted their viewpoints, explanations and rationalizations.

Barbara Wilson notes in her introduction to this current Seal Press reprint of Strong's 1934 autobiography that Anna Louise did not have a "feminist analy-



Anna Louise Strong

sis." This was true in the sense of today's definition. Yet her writings displayed a special empathy and awareness of the role of women in the revolutions she covered. And her personal lifestyle met the most stringent standards set by some of today's more fervent feminists. Strong acquired no emotional "bag-

gage" that could curtail her independence.

Each time she came through Los Angeles on one of her lecture tours throughout the '20s, we Young Communist League teenagers were titillated as much by Strong-the-40-year-old-woman as we were by her accounts of socialism-in-action in those faraway places. She epitomized for us that unfettered woman we intended to become. Except we would be the Party's organized advance-guard on the barricades, not "merely" a reporter-observer.

In Moscow during 1931-35 and again in 1937 I met Anna Louise again. I still envied her aggressive, abrasive independence and roving, free lifestyle. But I sensed, too, the loneliness and rootlessness. I had by then acquired a love relationship I was determined to keep permanently inviolate, a child, and a political organizational commitment that already had begun to dictate my lifestyle. In my youth-

In think-pieces outside daily news frames, the New Left was discovered as itself, rather than an extension of the civil rights movement, by a *Times* and a CBS reporter whose political sympathies and past reportorial experiences permitted them to notice the then five-year-old SDS. In their stories, both noted the intellectual sweep and moral seriousness of SDS.

Why did "the story" eventually change? Gitlin suggests that when the original think-pieces were conceived, the political elite did not yet have a line on SDS. Relatively quickly, though, honing in on SDS opposition to the war, daily reports treated SDS as part of the "war story." Through its own juxtapositions of radical activity with news of battles in Southeast Asia, first the media and quickly the political elite came to understand the New Left as a threat, as perennial deviant other.

Gitlin supposes that shift was "partly the professional, informal, unreflective, 'free' response of *Times* [and CBS] reporters to their editors' responses, in turn, to the Johnson administration's escalation of the Vietnam war; and partly their political response to the unsettling emergence of a radical movement." From 1965, movement, media and state are locked in attention toward and conflict with one another. Media and state unite and separate at different stages. The movement is captured outsider, at first forced, later anxious to join the dance.

Gitlin catches the telling juxtaposition of facts and the omissions. To buttress his interpretations he interviewed *Times* and CBS newsmen about their stories, consulted SDS leaders and documents, and read widely about the period.

For me, though, Gitlin's use of some of those interviews with newsmen is the least satisfying aspect of *The Whole World Is Watching*. Sometimes he describes what a reporter brought to a TV story; sometimes, the views of the producer are assigned to a film-story. It is as though, within limits, each of these men gets to foist his vision of the story on all other members of the team. One gets little sense of interchange and negotiation within the production unit.

The most successful parts of *The Whole World Is Watching* are the parts that resonate with Gitlin's personal concern and that detail the impact of the media upon the movement. He describes how the media engendered splits among the SDS leadership, recriminations about disseminated stories, criticism of the national office, and dissatisfactions among the decentralized chapters.

Gitlin argues that the media helped to make SDS—an organization devoted to participatory democracy—less democratic, even as the news recruited to SDS a new generation of activists who were socially, temperamentally, and tactically different from the original network of SDS organizers. This new Prairie Power segment helped to insure the obsolescence of the old guard and to court media attention by generating drama and by opposing bourgeois life-styles.

Instead of condemning Prairie Power, to understand their surge toward the media Gitlin asks about the '60s cultural milieu—the violent movies of the day, the gratuitous political analysis embedded in *Bonnie and Clyde*, the misapprehension of politics as theater. Gitlin's analyses of '60s culture seem a bit out of place. But his treatment of the leadership's quandries are moving and powerful. So are his discussions of how Chicago police prepared for their riot, egged on by media-reports, much as their planted informers egged on dem-

onstrators. Poignant too are some of the scenes that Gitlin spotlights: demonstrators practicing for the wide boulevards of Chicago a snake-dance designed to fend off police in the narrow streets of Tokyo.

Gitlin describes the processes of renegotiating frames within the media, and he highlights emerging opposition within the government. He points out that the Tet Offensive defied previous frames of the war, and so of opposition to that war. Much as personal crises may require individuals to reconceptualize their life, Tet prompted the news media to discover anti-war moderates, to promote the "Clean for Gene" students, and to criticize those who would see all opponents of the war as radical fanatics.

Throughout his book, Gitlin explores tensions, contradictions, negotiations, fair-minded people (in the main) reaching for solutions. He understands that network executives and newspaper publishers rarely intervene in news decisions—and why they don't have to. He understands how high-placed executives set a tone.

As he searches for an understanding of his own life and politics, Gitlin helps us understand what happened to us all.

Gaye Tuchman is a sociology professor at Queens College and the Graduate Center, CUNY, and author of *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*.

ful self-confidence at the time I was certain I would achieve the best of both worlds. I ended up willingly if grudgingly making compromises. Anna Louise did not.

Eyewitness accounts.

Discussing the idea of writing her autobiography with Lincoln Steffens, Strong had said: "Truth is for each of us our picture of the world....I want to paint my picture." And she did. Her vivid, personal eyewitness accounts stirred millions around the world who, like she, saw the Russian and Chinese revolutions and their difficult evolutions from chaos into socialist growth as that millennium we all sought. Written in 1934, her autobiography reflects the simplisms and the unquestioning beliefs with which we viewed and felt that commitment.

However Strong lived another 36 years and, according to the titles listed at the back of this Seal Press reprint of that 1934 book, in the latter half of her life she wrote from Moscow and then from Peking some 20 books, articles and her monthly *Letters from China*. These writings undoubtedly contain clues to her responses to the tumultuous developments inside and outside of that socialist world around her.

Helpful too would be some indication whether or not in those later years Strong confronted her earlier views with the kind of retrospective insight that so many others in the international movements have done. Regrettably, the editors do not include here a postscript or afterword based upon an examination of those post-1934 writings. Instead Barbara Wilson, one of the three women comprising Seal Press, provides in the introduction a superfluous summary of the book and predigested interpretations of Strong's life.

Wilson does note a couple of post-1934 biographical facts. Strong was expelled from the Soviet Union as an "American spy" in 1948, after 27 years of consistently laudatory reporting from that country. She returned to Moscow eight years later when she was exonerated, without explanation, by the post-Stalin Soviet leadership and after winning back her U.S. passport in the ebb-tide of McCarthyism. Within two years Strong left Moscow for permanent residence in Peking where she lived for the next 12 years until her death. Wilson attributes this move to Strong's life-long attachment to revolutions-in-process as compared to the Soviet Union's 40-year-old stability.

This may be. The version we here in the States got at the time was that Strong did not approve of the de-Stalinization process and she transferred to Mao her longtime adulation of Stalin. Her monthly *Letters from China* during the '60s, which I received in my capacity as foreign editor of the *People's World* with brief personal notes attached, tend to support this version.

Wilson notes that Strong lived in Peking in material comfort and political privilege, a favored protegee of Mao. We are not made privy, however, to what her responses were to the fact that, in contrast, a number of her fellow American radicals living and working in Peking at the time were arrested and imprisoned.

Peggy Dennis is the author of *Autobiography of an American Communist* and of articles for a wide variety of periodicals.

Media

Continued from page 17.

ed to disseminate their views to do the same. Some took as their script the media's rendition of radical activity. Their macho theater pleased presidents and pro-war forces, happy for the tools with which to dismiss dissidents as irresponsible. And once media executives grew disenchanted with the war, because it could not be won, they used radical groups as a foil against which to promote a more moderate opposition.

News frames.

But Gitlin's story is more complex. Using contemporary sociological concepts without indulging in sociologese, Gitlin explains the sequence of successive "news frames" applied to SDS. Daily news frames are oriented toward recognizable events. For reporters to perceive that some phenomenon may indeed be the basis of a story, they must first be able to "see" it. Quoting Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge, Gitlin says "news" are actually "olds," because they correspond to what one expects to happen."

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By Pat Aufderheide

Our Hitler (a.k.a. *Hitler, A Film from Germany*), Hans-Jürgen Syberberg's seven-hour-plus "film cycle," will not change the mind of the person who confesses to you (always as if it were some special idiosyncrasy), "I just have this prejudice against German culture." This is one of the most self-important bundles of Teutonic overstatement around.

But it will not be ignored, especially by its chosen audience. The film has stirred great interest in intellectual circles, the center being Susan Sontag's February essay in *The New York Review of Books*. Although made in a language and form deliberately anti-popular, interior and mannered, the film assesses the cultural roots and cost of Nazism.

What Syberberg provides in those seven hours looks less like a movie than like a continuously changing sound-and-image collage. Using an Expressionist style that dramatically distorts "objective" reality, both with light and with the twisting of images, he has us pass through a series of tableaux.

In front of constantly changing rear projections—of architecture, symbols, historical clips, bits and pieces of German art—the small, versatile cast of actors and the horrifically well-crafted ventriloquists' dummies inhabit a jumbled little set. They recite bits of the verbal past: the Futurist manifesto, the diary of Goebbels, reminiscences of Hitler's valet, of Himmler's masseur, of Hitler's projectionist, the speeches of Hitler. Some mouth Syberberg's own philosophical speculations.

It's like a scrapbook come alive and gone mad. The barrage of information is unrelenting and unconnected. But a magic soon takes hold, partly because we give in to noticing how cheaply film can obtain its objectives. With Brechtian tricks and in-joke film references (as an East German teenager Syberberg filmed several of Brecht's Berliner Ensemble productions), the filmmaker reveals the blatant artifice of the craft, while also proving that the magic still works. We become hypnotically drawn, for instance, to the repulsive sight of Himmler's stomach being palpated by his masseur while Himmler rationalizes genocide.

Almost obscenely self-conscious, Syberberg never settles for the ordinary hypnotic power of film. Rather, with his barrage of conflicting pieces of information and his conjunctions of images, he forces us to make mental leaps between pieces of information, and to involve ourselves in making sense of the film. True to Expressionist tradition, Syberberg makes everything a reference, a symbol, a carrier of mood more than message. For instance, in the opening and closing sections of the film Syberberg's angelic young daughter walks through the set with ribbons of film in her hair, clutching a stuffed dog with the head of Hitler, or a doll of Ludwig II.

One of the film's specialized attractions is precisely that it requires mental exercise. The scrapbook technique, in which quotations are rarely identified, symbols are laid on symbols and everything could be read as straightforward or as ironic, allows for endless research and speculation.

Some of that effort is misplaced. While intensely wordy and argumentative, the film also defeats rational analysis. It is firmly anti-rational and anti-



A seven-hour attack on Hitler and Hollywood

historic. Syberberg wants to immerse us in a context that made Hitler possible, all the while dancing around us and poking us.

He asks a double-edged question: How did we (the Germans, that is, not everyone, in spite of the "Our" that U.S. marketer Francis Coppola cleverly slipped in) create Hitler? And what did Hitler create in us? Finally he asks the driving question of Expressionism and Romanticism before that: Can we be saved from this, from ourselves?

His anguish is that Hitler made a travesty of the Romantic tradition, trivialized the German heritage and left the Germans without a cultural identity in which they could take pride.

Holy war.

But Syberberg does not want a rational film essay. As he said to an interviewer, "My film is not actually a film about Hitler as a historical person...instead I tried always to concentrate on the banality of everyday life"—on the evil of history. He wants more than a film. He wants to wage a holy war of words and images.

Cinema, which he terms "a continuation of life by other means," is his weapon (as it was Hitler's). He engages in cinematic warfare with the man who, he

claims, turned WWII into a movie by watching "rushes" from the front every night and by creating public events like Nuremberg so that they could be filmed. He attacks Hitler with the very Expressionist style that Hitler despised as decadent and attempted to destroy in the early years of the Third Reich. Expressionist-style Hitler appears in costumes and in a ventriloquist's dummy. This is Art on the offensive, carving out a reality in the dark.

Working in the Romantic tradition, Syberberg sees art as the last hope for a religious and spiritual—a soul-recovering—expression in a secular world. He sees himself as a filmic Wagner. Wagner transformed opera into a music drama that gave a mythic, heroic form to the quest for a mystic nationalist identity. Syberberg would like to transform film—the art of a mechanical age—into an epic visual poem. He too is enthralled by the vision of a nationalism and an identity that lies beyond political history.

This film is part III of his statement on German nationalism and culture. The first was *Ludwig II. Requiem for a Virgin King*; the second was *Karl May*, about the romantic novelist who was Hitler's favorite author. He also made an inter-

Hitler is caricatured in the style he most hated.

view film with Winifred Wagner, niece of Richard (Hitler's favorite composer) and longtime family friend of Hitler. And his next film is *Parsifal*.

Parsifal was Hitler's favorite opera, and favorite character. *Parsifal* tells of the loss and recovery of the Holy Grail, source of spiritual renewal. Parsifal is a "holy fool," who loses innocence and triumphs over temptation in playing out his role as savior.

Everyone wants to be Parsifal, Syberberg included. But he wants to rescue the role from politics. Like other Romantics, he wants art to be the secular religion, to communicate with universal values, to provide meta-historical meaning.

The new religion.

But Syberberg's religion is a rickety one, held up by anger and apocalyptic poses. Modern history, he tells us in his own and other voices, is summarized in two horrors: Hitler and Hollywood. Hitler reduced the spiritual quest of the Romantic legacy to a cruel joke, equating first Siegfried (the hero who ushers in the age of Man in Wagner's *Nibelung tetralogy*) and then the savior Parsifal with himself and his German state. Hitler's sin was to think of himself as an artist, and then to create bad art, called the postwar world.

Hollywood is a continuation of Hitler by other means. Hollywood makes film art serve commerce, and commits artistic genocide with its butchery of films by artists like Stroheim and Eisenstein.

Hitler and Hollywood are not only equally art-and-soul destroying, but they're related. In a hysterically painful conversation between the filmmaker character and the Hitler dummy, the filmmaker accuses Hitler of destroying German cinema for 20 years after WWII. Hitler claims that transforming life was harder than making a movie, and more permanent—"What would the map of Europe be without me?" he asks. He has created Hollywood's new markets, he suggests slyly, and has made today's international politics possible. Hitler is great box office, says a German mayor waiting for tourists for his new Hitler museum in another tableau. "Freedom without a human face—Hitler, here is your victory!" the narrator proclaims.

Both Hitler and Hollywood are results of the rise of industrial mass society. The rise of modern democracy is the beginning, a blind cripple in a tableau says, of "the twilight of humanity." With the world divided into plutocrats (Western capitalists) and proles (Communist governments), the spiritual core of daily life disappears. When the common man is exalted, you get Hitler, who was legally elected, promising a nationalistic sense of purpose.

Incoherent anger.

The film sweepingly asserts a passionate but incoherent indictment of modern soullessness—alienation, in short. As an excellent example of the pathology it indicts, it gropes for meaning—at least for blame—but finds it only at the most general level. Eventually, with its mix without melding of styles, the film turns in on itself, criticizing and exalting itself simultaneously. Syberberg's way out is typically extremist—through apoca-

lyptic language. "Until the End of the World," say titles in one section; "A Farewell to the Occident," say others.

Syberberg claims he made a "work of grief" for the Germans who, trapped in a mass melancholy that inhibits mourning, are unable to transcend their cultural guilt. But what the film expresses best is an adolescent rage.

Anger is only the first stage of several in an exorcism of guilt. The subjective film style works hard against the separation of subject from object, against a separation of mourner from the mourned. Just as we creep up on

Syberberg wants more than a film. He's waging a holy war of cinema against a bad artist—Hitler.

a fact, the narrator pops in with something like, "The majesty of the universe makes reality a fantasy..." and we're sailing into the philosophic clouds again.

Syberberg was not only with Hitler but, like a good mystic, with history. There he finds only the mundane and the common that has destroyed the spiritual in modern life. And in throwing out history, he also rejects any concrete transformation of this society into one that has a higher purpose.

But then he's not concerned with society. He wants to make the world safe for artists, guardians of spirit, against politicians (and the masses who create them), against the corporations (and the consumers who create them).

This is not the cultural identity the Germans have been waiting for. Nor is it cinematically innovative; rather it harks back to film's beginnings. But *Our Hitler* is a fascinating example of the pain and confusion surrounding the phenomenon of Hitler. It's a symptom of the kind of passion without premises that, in a culture plagued with alienation, can justify anything—even Nazism.

Reception.

It's appropriate that Zoetrope, Coppola's company, is distributing this film. There's a parallel between Coppola's *Apocalypse Now* and *Our Hitler*. The first is a turgid, overblown—but intermittently dazzling, especially for its cinematic tricks—film

Continued on page 22.



POPULAR MUSIC

Graham Parker's honesty revives rock

By Bruce Dancis

Something was happening and I didn't know what it was. There was this voice coming over the radio—harder, purer and angrier than any I had heard in years—telling God to look elsewhere for followers, saying that sometimes you just have to let all your emotions pour out. An honest man in a world of falsity, backed by a band that understood the value of combining power with subtlety at a time when both were endangered species, Graham Parker & the Rumour embodied the revitalization of rock music.

It was 1976, and the greats of the '60s who were still active—the Stones, the Who, the Kinks, Dylan, Van Morrison—seemed to be in the midst of a malaise. There were encouraging signs—reggae, Springsteen, Patti Smith—but any music that offered the likes of Elton John or Led Zepelin as its torch bearers possessed little more fire than a Cricket lighter.

There was little preparation for the first two Graham Parker

& the Rumour albums, *Howlin' Wind* and *Heat Treatment*, both released in 1976. Their tough-edged brand of rock jumped with an uncommon electricity, insistent and forceful without sledgehammering a rhythm into undifferentiated rubble. Parker's cynicism, given full throttle in songs like "You've Got to Be Kidding" and "That's What They All Say," had an understanding that there are real, discernible targets worthy of one's anger.

Parker's songs reflect the accumulated resentments of being working-class and poor. No sham could withstand the bitter glare of his lyrics, his voice and his band.

Without Parker, figures such as Elvis Costello and Joe Jackson are unimaginable. Costello's pose and stop-and-go rhythms build upon a base established by Parker and the Rumour, while Jackson's music and stage demeanor often appear to be the result of a Parker-Costello cloning. And what began as a handful of Parker-influenced groups in 1977 and 1978 has turned into

The passions, doubts, and torments of being working-class and poor still burn in this new album.

a veritable torrent in 1980—the Jags, Tommy Tutone, the Continentals, D.B. Cooper, Thumbs, the Sports, and the Plimsouls—to name just a few bands with recently released albums.

Parker and the band reached their peak with 1979's *Squeezing Out Sparks*. Their first recording for a new label, Arista Records (a recent song, "Mercury Poisoning," was not a fish story),



Graham Parker

Sparks garnered universal critical acclaim, winning the *Village Voice* annual nationwide poll of rock critics as the best album of the year.

Fifteen months after it came out, *Squeezing Out Sparks* has lost none of its vitality. Parker's songs contain an almost frightening intensity. Brinsley Schwarz's guitar, mixed to a dominant level by producer Jack Nitzsche, pro-

pelled the album upward and onward from the stunning opening bars of "Discovering Japan."

New album.

The only problem with *Sparks* was that Parker eventually had to follow it up, and inevitably, any new work would be compared to it. *The Up Escalator* isn't as good as *Squeezing Out Sparks*. Or to put it another way, *The Up Escalator* is a magnificent record, one of the finest released this year, and a worthy addition to the Parker collection.

The passions, doubts and torments within Parker still burn. Although "No Holding Back," the first song on *Escalator*, features an upbeat rhythm and "we can face the danger" message, and Parker continues his penchant for including at least one good-timey, near novelty song ("Stupefaction"), the mood remains scary and cynical.

In their strongest songs, Parker and the Rumour achieve a unity between the message of the lyrics and the message of their instruments. "Empty Lives" be-

Continued on page 22.

Disco: not all subcultures are created equal

By Tom Smucker

As I write, "Funkytown," by Lipps, Inc., a song that can only be described as disco, has topped the charts for the last month. The only concession to what's supposed to be current post-disco rock-revival pop music taste is the absence of romantic, gushy or pretty orchestral coloration. Otherwise it's a classic: anonymous but soulful black singing of simple, chant-like vocals; funk with a glossy surface; r&b riff variations rather than strong verse-chorus-verse-chorus melody; an unpredictable one-man concoction from, of all

Leftists prefer their blacks to be old, poor and rural. Anything later than '60s Motown is best ignored till it's history.

places, Minneapolis, that broke first in the disco clubs (yes, they still exist) and hit much later on the radio and in record stores catering to non-disco fans.

But didn't disco die? Didn't it collapse like the house of cards it always was a year ago, after

threatening to overwhelm good old rock and roll? Not quite. Actually, disco was pronounced dead when it failed to deliver on the awesome potential of the Bee Gees-dominated soundtrack to *Saturday Night Fever*, the best-selling record ever; and when the

all-disco radio stations that sprung up in belated recognition of disco's popularity began mixing in other music when their ratings started to slip. In other words, due to a couple of freaks in timing, the disco audience was mistaken for being larger than it was, and was then pronounced non-existent. But it's still there.

It was also mistaken for being easier to manipulate than was true. But with its lack of certifiable stars and with its quirky tastes, disco doesn't lend itself easily to initial investment and then long-term dividends. There's simply no disco Paul McCartney who you can pay a million dollars to sign with your label and then make a million dollars a month off of forever.

And so we have disco, a subculture once more, sputtering along without much recognition, widely influential (look at the success of recent disco-influenced albums by Michael Jackson, Kool and the Gang, and Diana Ross, or Blondie's disco-influenced single "Call Me"), but largely ignored.

Just the sort of unjust situation that would attract the sympathy of leftists, particularly in THESE TIMES readers, who will pick an ignored folksinger, blues legend or jazz genius over a pop success any day. So what about all those obscure disco hits recorded far from the seats of power that aren't getting the recognition they deserve? What about all the unsung Funkytowns?

I'm not holding my breath. Leftists prefer their blacks to be old, poor and rural. Slick, urbanized black music that speaks to any experience more recent than the '50s (Chicago Blues) or '60s (Motown) is best ignored, at least until it's old enough to lie safely in the past. Remember when electric blues and then the Supremes were considered corrupt by leftist purists? And gays—they're best dealt with when

they're lesbian-feminist separatists singing folk songs, because that's a *political* concept. While music that reflects the potentially explosive drive for liberation and turn toward complacent gentrification is best ignored. Even if it reflects a social reality.

Part of the left's problem with mass culture is due, oddly, to its good fortune. One pop culture giant—as influential in the long run, I believe, as Chuck Berry or the Beatles—was Woody Guthrie, who worked in the idiom of folk music. So the left has the most experience with this style. As the left shrank in the '50s, another genius, Pete Seeger, helped fashion this music into an oppositional culture, ready for the taking when the '60s began. And so banjos are folk music. Synthesizers are not.

But what about those folk who dance to synthesizers and not banjos? Here's a more disturbing question: Is it possible that the minority left in this country attracts people who like participating in a minority subculture? And for all the talk in IN THESE TIMES and elsewhere about different organizational and ideological strategies for breaking out of isolation, is there a cultural pull on the left toward isolation? Do leftists secretly fear mass acceptance the way sub-cult beatniks of the '50s preferred that to the mass bohemianism of the '60s.

I'm a big fan, and have raved in print to prove it, about Seeger, both Guthries, blues, gospel and punk. But I wonder. Why does a music that articulates, no matter how unclearly, the yearning for upward mobility and good times, and frequently expresses a lack of faith in political change while embodying change in its racial and sexual mix—why does this music draw so much fire from the left? Could it be because it too successfully embodies in its contradictions what's Out There, or even hidden Somewhere Inside Us? ■



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Hitler

Continued from page 19.

about Our National Nightmare. Syberberg's Caligari of a film is all of that about Theirs.

The Germans, by the way, hated this film. Warned off Syberberg—the bad boy who kept bringing up the Hitler-in-us theme in his earlier films and writings—no critics showed up for the 1977 Berlin Film Festival screening, and Syberberg summarily withdrew the film and refused to show it in Germany. Only after it had won a British Film Institute award and had a successful Paris run did Syberberg let it show—always underground—in Germany. Now it's in limited U.S. release.

Both the German and the American

reactions to *Our Hitler* reinforce Syberberg's original premise that this subject is unresolved and not currently accessible through ordinary discussion. Surely only profoundly anxious, profoundly guilty peoples—whether of Hitler or of Hollywood—could take a film this spitefully adolescent in tone with such solemnity. ■

Citizens

Continued from page 7.

Zimmerman is not ready to say precisely who the 5 percent will be. He speculates generally that they will come from anti-Carter, but not pro-Reagan trade unionists, anti-nuclear people, and upper-middle-class liberals who initially leaned to Anderson. (When contacted last week, Zimmerman said he expected a call back from Stewart Mott, who was recently ousted from the Anderson campaign.)

Geographically, the party will concentrate on what it calls the "big 11"—Illinois, Texas, California, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Florida and Missouri. These states contain 70 percent of the vote, and the party should be able to qualify in all of them except perhaps Michigan.

Zimmerman has begun to professionalize the signature-gathering process. In California, where the party must gather 100,000 signatures by September 1, he is hiring signature gatherers—a move that has sparked protest from local Citizen Party members.

Commoner is currently devoting his efforts to raising \$300,000 to get the party through the summer. For the fall, Zimmerman expects the party will have to raise \$1.5 million in order to be able to run a credible campaign—one that would hopefully include some national media time. Singer John Hall is working with the party to set up fall benefit concerts.

But Commoner did appear at a party



reception held at the United Auto Workers convention last month in Anaheim. The UAW has decided to base its presidential endorsement decision on a ballot vote among local leaders. Commoner will be listed as a choice, along with Anderson, Reagan, Carter, and no endorsement.

At the convention, Commoner unveiled the party's plans for a Public Auto-worker Corporation that would reopen abandoned plants under joint worker-government control. These plants would produce public transportation systems and durable, safe, and fuel-efficient cars. ■

Parker

Continued from page 20.

gins with an ominous two-guitar pattern and an insistent drum beat. Unlike many important rock guitarists, Schwarz is more concerned with tone and texture than speed. On a chilling lead, his guitar sounds almost hollow as it smoothly slices its way up a scale. And Parker has never sounded quite so alienated—"I'm just a tick in a box on a questionnaire/Another moment that passes into nowhere"—or paranoid and isolated—"Get them, get him, but don't get me/Can't hear, your cries, so don't get me to fill up your empty lives."

Parker as a songwriter confronts romance and sex with brutal honesty. If his graphic horror over an abortion on "You Can't Be Too Strong" was disturbing, it also was double-edged because of Parker's insistence that men take responsibility for the consequences of their sexual activity.

On *Escalator's* "Jolie Jolie," he shows a willingness to reveal weakness and longing, emotions seldom presented publicly by men. As the song builds in intensity as it rushes towards the end,

Parker's voice defines integrity.

As with Parker's other albums, the pace of *The Up Escalator* varies. Most of the songs are mid-tempo rockers, but there's also "The Beating of Another Heart," an extremely pretty slow number that evokes the elegance of 1977's "Watch the Moon Come Down."

And no Parker LP would be complete without a boisterous rouser like "Endless Night." A song that starts out ferociously and remains so, it offers the opportunity to hear Bruce Springsteen croaking in the background and ace session player Nicky Hopkins (who along with E Street Band member Danny Federici re-placed Rumour keyboardist Bob Andrews) pounding away with the abandon he showed on the Stones' "Gimme Shelter."

Parker and the Rumour created a rock formula that is one of the most influential in music today. Indeed, the New Wave and what is referred to as "power pop" owe much to Parker and his band.

This is a fine time for hearing rock and roll, and there are dozens of bands with something to say and a zestful way of saying it. Yet right now, with the back-to-back triumphs of *Squeezing Out Sparks* and *The Up Escalator*, Graham Parker and the Rumour have so outdistanced the competition that they're only competing with themselves. ■

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The **NEW AMERICAN MOVEMENT 1980 NATIONAL CONVENTION** will be held at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. The topics include: the state of U.S. politics today, the family and sexuality, the draft and

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The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee for its listing.

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600 West Fullerton Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614

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343 S. Dearborn, Room 305
Chicago, IL 60604

SOCIALIST PARTY, U.S.A.
Suite 325
135 W. Wells Street
Milwaukee, WI 53203

WORKING WOMEN
1258 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44111

LOCKOUT

Continued from page 24.
working America on TV.

Union leaders began training for this project last October, with an all-day session. Returning to their locals, each organized a group of volunteers in more than 100 communities to monitor TV during February.

Volunteers were armed with a fat red book, the *IAM Media Project TV Trainer's Manual*. It pulls no punches.

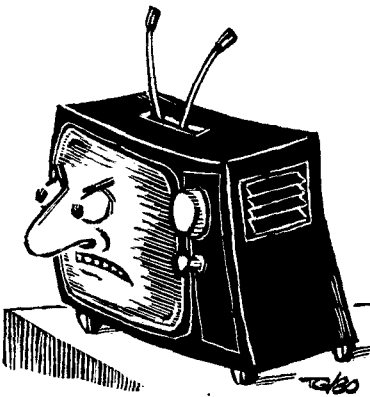
"Who is making money?" it starts. "The TV industry. And what is the product? You are. You were sold by the TV industry to an advertiser, who will pass the bill on to you."

The book's organization suggests the Machinists' long-range plans for the group. First it provides an introduction to the problem, with references. There are lists, for instance, of consumer and media advocate groups, and of books and films on TV and on criticism.

The book dwells on group dynamics. It explains how to keep a media reform group together. It provides simulations, not only of, say, meetings with station executives, but of meetings between station executives. ("Participants must,"

the manual reads, "concentrate on simulating the decision making of this highly competitive business where jobs are held only through high ratings and high profits.")

Finally, the manual, which is fast becoming an underground bible for media advocates, outlines what the media group can do. It has a list of TV advertisers, should you want to boycott the shows they advertise on. It gives sample press releases. And it shows how to file a petition to deny an FCC license. The petition to deny is the most serious (if frequently ineffectual) legal weapon citizens have against broadcasters insensitive to the public interest.



Two more reports will still issue from this TV monitoring project—one on the image of labor in news coverage and the other on local programming. The project has already had success in sensitizing TV executives to labor issues. For instance, NBC invited Winpisinger and Robert Kalaski, the IAM coordinator of the project, to a four-day meeting of public interest groups. Now in its fourth year, the event this year included labor representatives for the first time.

Effects.

Network executives have since the IAM's first announcement of this project cried censorship and invasion of artistic freedom. But more surprising is the fact that other unions have been less than enthusiastic about the program.

The AFL-CIO—still digging itself out from under the legacy of Meany's absolute confidence in the image of labor—has remained, as yet, indifferent to the project. Some unions have even criticized the Machinists for taking an adversary tack with the media. For instance, the International Brotherhood of Painters and Allied Trades prefers a "positive" approach, said spokesperson Rod Wolford. The IBPAT has consulted with the producers of *Joe's World*, a now-cancelled

CULTURE SHOCK

TAKE THAT

A suburban Detroit Chevy dealer, reports John Lipfert, offers out-of-work auto workers sledge hammers and a Datsun to "vent their frustration."

ANOTHER PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENT

At least one oil company, having lost the adults, is



making a play for the next generation, reports *UE News*. Ashland Oil issues a stockholders report for school children, showing Uncle Sam sneaking off with a

sackful of tax dollars from the company.

DON'T LOOK NOW

The socialist-run TV station in Amsterdam, Holland, recently aired a "typical day" of American TV to expose its "commercialism," and netted twice the normal ratings for a Saturday night. Viewers complained, however, about the plethora of commercials.

TV sitcom about a painter. Wolford also noted that TV is changing rapidly with cable. The union is training members in the use of videotape, looking forward to the day members can communicate through a satellite link-up. However, Wolford also noted that *Joe's World* was initiated not by the Painters but by Norman Lear Associates, and that the union's new-tech plans for communications are only beginning.

Whatever the long-range ef-

fect of the Machinists' TV monitoring, it is a symptom of increasing sensitivity on the part of organized labor to the importance of more innovative and more sophisticated public relations. The survey groups may also become an important arm of media access and reform activity.

The TV Trainers' Manual is available for \$5 from IAM, 1300 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036.

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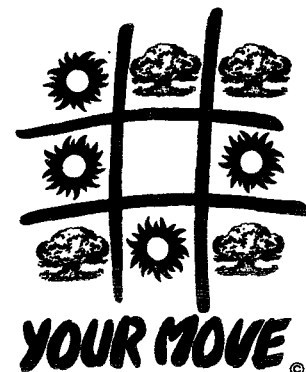
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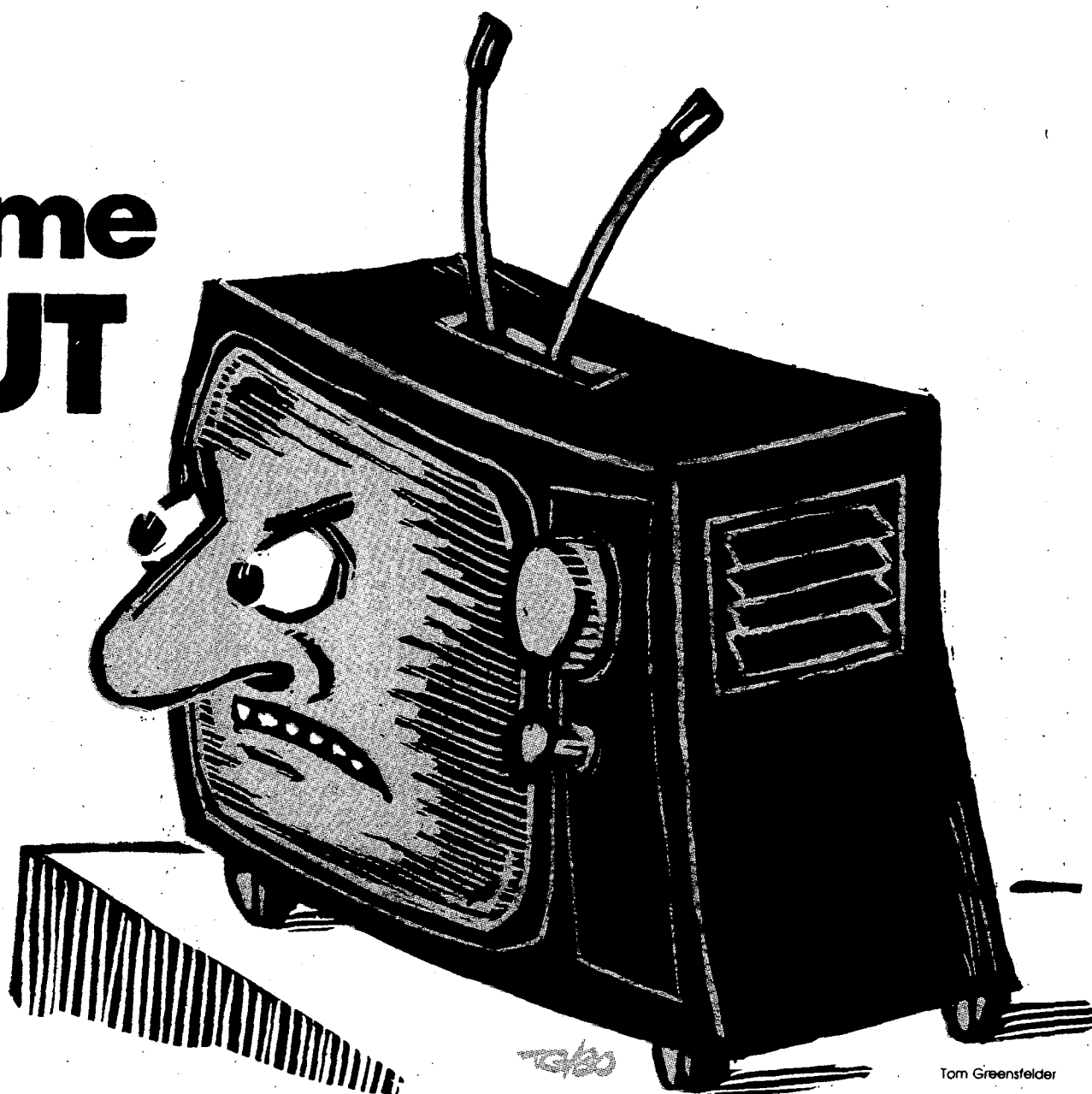
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Prime Time LOCKOUT

By Pat Aufderheide



Tom Greenfelder

The Machinists look hard to find unions and workers on TV entertainment

Witch doctors outnumber welfare workers two to one. Prostitutes outnumber machinists 12 to one and butlers outnumber miners eight to one—in the working world of TV entertainment.

That's one of the findings that 1,500 note-taking members of the International Association of Machinists came up with in their survey of labor's image on TV.

"What is TV doing for—or is it *to*—workers?" was the question posed by the survey, the first results of which were issued June 12 in Los Angeles (see sidebar). The answers confirm Machinist president William Winpisinger's contention that labor's image is poor in the medium that 65 percent of us depend on for *all* of our information about the world.

If TV were life, most of us would be wearing a uniform or a costume. The most-often seen occupation on TV is that of a police officer. Waiters and waitresses come in second, while athletes are ninth and musicians tenth. Goods production workers are rarely seen—and when they are, they aren't working.

When union workers do appear, they tend to act dumber and clumsier—but more good-natured—than professionals and managers. More hardworking and less selfish than their bosses, they are that magical (and self-justifying) category, "happy workers." But most of the time, workers only appear on screen as props to the main action or, as one member called them, "robots."

If workers fade into the background, unions are nearly invisible. They surface only during strikes, except for an occasional phrase like "The Teamsters won't let you bring that car in here."

Images.

Just entertainment? Hardly. Negative images of workers and silence about union benefits on TV provide a clue to "why organized labor's image is so bad," according to Winpisinger.

The Machinists hired (for \$100,000) William M. Young and Associates—the same company that organized the PTA campaign against TV violence—to structure the survey. Young himself supports "programming parity," and

insists that TV "must include the divergent views of the various constituent groups inherent in a pluralistic, democratic society." For him TV is never "just entertainment. TV is sending out messages all the time."

That's what Machinist members who conducted the survey discovered, too. In fact, perhaps more valuable than the tabulated results of their TV monitoring may be the educational precedent set. The act of monitoring the tube encourages a critical approach to information. One shocked union steward said, "A little education goes a long way. Now I don't even believe the news."

Members' comments on the series and movies they watched suggest not only an awareness of the messages in the medium, but a sense of humor about them.

Of *Dukes of Hazzard* one member jotted down, "Best thing program does is make work for mechanics." "There is no union in the 25th Century,"

wrote another about *Buck Rogers*. Members noted McCarthyesque overtones to the movie *Telefon*, and criticized the TV movie *Hard Hat and Legs* for "never showing construction workers actually working." For showing workers in workplace conflicts and interactions, *Lou Grant* got high points.

The survey identified what was shown, but took only tentative steps in the direction of explaining the principles or bias behind the patterns. Members filled out forms classifying characters on entertainment programs according to their occupations, assessed whether they were union or non-union workers, and rated their character traits—for instance, sloppy, bigoted, drinks or smokes, educated.

A narrow focus was thus kept on rating programs according to whether they were pro or con on labor issues, rather than a (more difficult to tabulate) task of analyzing values communicated by programs. Union members gave highly positive and uncritical rat-

ings, for example, to Walt Disney productions and shows like *Family Circus*, oriented toward family entertainment. Programs with easy-to-read messages, like a TV movie about a teenage alcoholic, garnered warm praise. In neither case were there comments, nor, possibly, room in the forms, for consideration of any implicit values in such programs.

What worked for the PTA on a question of personal morality may not be as simple when it comes to labor issues. The image of workers directly touches sore points concerning corporate power, and the cultures of different classes in the U.S.

Long term.

But this is only the beginning of what the IAM hopes will become a permanent institution of "TV activism." And if the indignation of these members is any guide, more probing remains to be done into the portrayal of

Continued on page 22.

How to avoid the issues: Stay away

LOS ANGELES

The Los Angeles Press Club is conveniently located just off the Hollywood Freeway, minutes away from the soundstages of the entertainment industry. Despite this proximity to media-land, not one representative of the national TV networks was able to find his or her way there to hear Machinists president William Winpisinger present the results of his union's monitoring of prime-time TV entertainment.

Their absence only underscored the report's main message: unions and workers are almost invisible on TV.

Winpisinger suggested that the union's audacious attempt to evaluate the networks' performance was enough to keep the news cameras

away. William A. Young, the union's media consultant, added, "It is irresponsible that the TV cameras are not here. They're getting the airwaves for free and are contributing nothing."

Winpisinger explained the invisibility of productive workers on TV as part of the strategy of vested interests that have determined that the U.S. is rapidly becoming a service economy. The great white-collar society of the future is previewed for us nightly on our TV screens. The absence of industrial workers and the endless hawking of products, increasingly manufactured outside of the U.S., reveals a fundamental contradiction of the American economy: As American industry runs off to foreign shores, American workers will have difficulty maintaining a consumer society.

One reporter asked whether the unions could get the kind of programming they want without censorship or propaganda. Winpisinger replied that the union is not demanding an end to

current programming but an attempt to start portraying real life on TV.

"The propaganda already exists," he emphasized. "Well-meaning unions and their members are a part of life in the U.S. They deserve a little credit for going out every day to the crummy jobs that keep the society going and the fat cats rich."

"Let's give the workers the same credit we give the bankers and the businessmen. If workers got a different image of themselves through the media, corporate entities would not just be permitted to rape the countryside and head off."

Startled, a reporter asked, "But isn't what you're suggesting not just a change of image, but more control of the public over the private sector?"

"Of course," Winpisinger replied, going on to outline how workers must develop consciousness before corporate antics lead to their unemployment. "We need to develop understanding before we have social casualties."

—Naomi Glauberman